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TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

"There is a people who will one day be very great:—I mean the Americans. One stain only obscures the perfect splendour of reason which vivifies that country—slavery still subsists in the southern provinces; but when the Congress shall have found a remedy for that evil, how shall we be able to refuse the most profound respect to the institutions of the United States?"

MADAME DE STAËL.

TRAVELS

THROUGH PART OF

THE UNITED STATES

AND

CANADA

IN

1818 AND 1819.

By JOHN M. DUNCAN, A. B.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

BENJAMIN SILLIMAN Esquire

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY AND NATURAL HISTORY

IN YALE COLLEGE

&c. &c. &c.

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE

AFFECTIONATELY AND VERY RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

So much has been written within these few years respecting North America, that it may not be unnecessary, in introducing the succeeding pages to the reader's notice, to state the grounds on which the author ventures to solicit for them a favourable reception.

In the numerous works which have been published, both on the United States and Canada, comparatively little has been said as to the moral condition of the inhabitants, their literary and religious characteristics;—on these, certainly the most important features in the American character, the writer is persuaded that much misapprehension prevails in his native country, and he would

gladly be instrumental in removing a part of it. He does not indeed pretend to have given any of these subjects a systematic discussion; but they have been steadily kept in view as particularly deserving of attention, and he hopes that he has succeeded in bringing together a good deal of information, on matters of permanent interest and importance, without altogether excluding topics of a lighter kind, on which a traveller is generally permitted to be somewhat loquacious.

It may be asked, why so long an interval has been allowed to elapse, between the date of the travels and the period of their publication? He can only reply that the resolution to publish, was formed and abandoned oftener than once; and after the composition was begun, various interruptions occurred to retard its progress. He is persuaded, however, that the work has suffered nothing from this delay; on the contrary, that however defective it may now be, it would have been still more so, had the compilation been completed any considerable time sooner.

The interesting author of the 'Diary of an Invalid,' remarks, that "no one but he who has tried the experiment, knows how difficult it is to be accurate;—a book of travels must always be more or less a volume of inaccuracies." Perfectly assured, from his own experience, of the truth of these positions; the author bespeaks the indulgence of the reader, both to the materials of his book, and to its execution. On matters of opinion, he must expect that many will think him in error; on those of fact and observation, he trusts, that, although he may have sometimes gone wrong, he will not in general be found unworthy of confidence.

University Press, Glasgow,
October 25th, 1823.

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LETTER I.

LETTER I.

VOYAGE—ADVERSE WINDS—ST. MICHAEL'S—PEAK OF PICO—FAYAL—AMERICAN CONSUL'S RESIDENCE—CLIMATE OF THE AZORES — POPISH CEREMONIES DURING LENT — NUNNERY — VILLA ORTA — DRESS AND CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES — PRODUCE OF THE ISLAND—BIRTH-DAY DINNER.

Fayal, one of the Azores,
March 14th, 1818.

WHEN the Fanny's topsails were loosed on the 2d of February, and the anchor weighed by which she had been riding, I anticipated no landing place between Greenock and New York; but here we are amidst the orange groves of Fayal, after six weeks' tossing upon the boisterous ocean.

The wind was unfavourable when we sailed, and has continued so with very little intermission, till within the last two days; sleet and rain poured on us almost incessantly for four weeks; while heavy gales, and even hurricanes, succeeded each other for the same period, with a frequency and violence which our Captain says he never before experienced, in about thirty passages across the Atlantic. Our vessel bears the sad tokens of the hardships of a winter voyage; the greater part of the bulwarks have been stove in, our sprit-sail

yard is gone, twice the jib boom has been carried away, the billet head is lashed with ropes, or it would have long since left us, and on one occasion, while lying too under a new main-stay-sail, the canvass burst with a tremendous report, and a great part of it was blown to rags before it was possible to haul it down. To complete the detail, we have beat about from near the 58th degree of latitude, to our present position, close by the 38th, without a possibility of getting any farther to the westward.[1]

During the last fortnight, we have been in smoother waters and a warmer climate; but the winds continuing to baffle us, we are compelled to take refuge here, and glad indeed to attain it, that we might procure a supply of water and provisions. The delay is somewhat mortifying, yet I scarcely regret that it has occurred, since it has been the means of bringing us among these orange clad isles, blooming in the verdure of perpetual spring, which I should probably never otherwise have had an opportunity of visiting.

Four days ago we first descried land; but then, by inexperienced eyes, scarcely to be distinguished

[1] Soon after our arrival in New York, tidings were received of the loss of several vessels which had sailed from Liverpool for America, a few days after we left Greenock, and had encountered on the coast, the same gales which we had with difficulty weathered at sea. Some were dismasted, some cast ashore and totally wrecked; others were never heard of after leaving the port, and of course, must have foundered at sea. Thus it is, in the mysterious operations of Divine Providence, that "one is taken and another left."

from a dim cloud hovering on the verge of the horizon. Next morning we were within a few miles of St. Michael's. The sky was cloudless and serene, the fishing boats of the natives were rowing about, land birds were sweeping in airy circles around us, and the eye rested, with a hitherto unknown delight, upon the green verdure of the swelling eminences which receded from the rocky shore.

St. Michael's, the largest of the Azores, or Hawk islands, as the name signifies, bears like the others, every appearance of a volcanic origin. The shore is most generally bold and precipitous, and in many places around it huge and shapeless rocks start abruptly out of the water; some of them broad and square, showing patches of vegetation, others bare and splintered, and at a distance resembling somewhat the dilapidated columns of an ancient temple. Backwards from the rocky shore the ground heaves with graceful undulations, between which may be sometimes seen scattered cottages and inclosures, but I could discover few trees of any considerable size. These hills terminate in a bare rocky ridge, which appeared to us to traverse the greater part of the island.

Doubling the northern point, and gaining sight of the principal town and harbour, we tacked and stood in. A westerly breeze would now for the first time have favoured us, but during the preceding night it had shifted to the eastward, and we

soon found that it would be difficult to make the port. Unwilling to lose entirely the benefit of the change, our captain determined to abandon the attempt, and to make rather for Fayal, about three degrees of longitude farther in our direct course for America. The vessel was therefore put about, the yards were squared, the studding sails for the first time spread before the breeze, and now

> "Merrily, merrily goes the bark,
> Before the gale she bounds;
> So starts the dolphin from the shark,
> Or the stag before the hounds."

But disappointment reigned on board. We had assured ourselves of setting foot on dry land, the steward's shoe brushes had been busy in the morning, we were all rigged out in our best, and now our eager anticipations were baffled, by what we least expected, a fair wind. The waves were curling their white tops behind us, and the vessel driving gaily along at the rate of seven or eight knots an hour, but we could not help gazing wistfully over the stern, at the rapidly receding shores of St. Michael's.

The following day was cloudy, but the wind continued fair, and early in the forenoon we descried the conical summit of the Peak of Pico, resting in solitary magnificence above a throne of clouds. The height of this mountain is estimated at 9000 feet; in fine weather it is seen at a distance of 25

leagues, and now its lofty apex was a land mark in our view, long before we could discover the base of the island. Gradually it enlarged at our approach, and in a few hours we entered the narrow channel between Pico and Fayal.

Villa Orta, the principal town in Fayal, is built in the form of a crescent, in the hollow of a little bay towards the middle of the island, and, from the water, has rather an imposing appearance. The ground slopes up pretty abruptly from the shore, and the houses, which are almost universally white washed, with black mouldings and projections, overtop each other as they recede; several churches and other large buildings relieve the eye at intervals, and some inconsiderable fortifications skirt the beach. The deep toned peal of church and convent bells floated through the air as we passed, and we felt gratified at the prospect of mingling again in the busy hum of men.

Except in this little bay there is no anchorage ground; the shore everywhere else is as steep and rocky as that of St. Michael's, and the water of great depth. The wind, however, blew so strong that the Captain thought it dangerous to enter, and it was not till the following day, after having made the circuit of the island, that we had the satisfaction of letting go the anchor; we were now within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and yet found 21 fathoms water. In a short time we were visited by the health boat, and after a few pre-

liminary ceremonies, we received permission to go on shore.

I accompanied the captain to the office of Mr. D——, the American consul, and after the necessary orders had been given for the supplies which we required, we were invited by the consul to accompany him home.

The residence of this gentleman is in a beautiful situation at a short distance from the town; the house fronts the sea, and commands a view of Pico. The garden with which it is surrounded, is such as cannot be seen in our inhospitable clime. Skirting the upper part of it, was a hedge composed entirely of geraniums, about six feet high, containing every variety of leaf and flower, and blooming with all the luxuriance of summer. Scattered in the richest profusion along the walks, were orange, lemon, and citron trees, covered with blossoms and fruit in every stage of advancement; and thus they appear the whole year round, with only this exception, that the principal crop is ripe about the month of December or January, at which period the fruit is exported. Roses fully blown were shedding their fragrance, the peach tree and the acacia were covered with blossoms, and around were the sugar cane, the tea and coffee shrubs, the almond tree, and the fig. All these were in full verdure, the vines alone were bare. We saw also the dark green shrub, from which it is said

that the island takes its name; its buds, however, *had* not then burst.

We returned in the evening to the vessel, with a large basket of the most delicious oranges, a present from Mr. D——, and an invitation to the cabin passengers to spend the following day with his family. We found on board a number of the natives, spreading out on the deck various articles of merchandise, among which were little red baskets of very delicate workmanship, some of which I secured as a memorial of my visit.

At breakfast next morning, I remarked the want of a fire place in the parlour where we sat; but fire places, except in the kitchen, are here unknown. The thermometer ranges from 52^0 to 80^0 Fahr., consequently the islanders know nothing either of cold or of excessive heat. Vegetation never ceases. To counterbalance these advantages, the whole of the Azores are liable to frequent earthquakes, and even to occasional volcanic eruptions.

To occupy a part of the forenoon, a visit was proposed to some of the churches, where the ceremonies of Lent were going forward. Under the patronage of Mr. D——'s son, we found ready access by a private passage to one of the largest; and were permitted to stand within a few yards of the altar, apart from the congregation, where we were recognised as mere spectators of what was going forward.

The scene which presented itself was of the most

gorgeous description. The walls and roof were profusely adorned with painting and gilding; the altar was decked with crucifixes, large candlesticks, chalices, and salvers, most of which were gilt, and boquets of beautiful flowers. Behind the altar was a sloping platform of very considerable extent, rising as it receded into a deep oval recess, and covered with a multitude of lighted candles. Pyramids of candles were fixed here and there over the walls, as well as on an iron railing which crossed at the bottom of the platform, to separate it from the body of the church. The officiating priests were three in number, attired in splendid robes of richly figured and embossed silk, of a primrose colour, with massy cords and tassels hanging over their shoulders. Portions of the dress of the principal priest were occasionally changed by his colleagues, and one of them at intervals, removed the spectacles from his nose, with the most ridiculous solemnity. Their persons, of the goodliest diameter, and their round rosy cheeks, contrasted most wonderfully with the scarecrow congregation below the railing. Their smooth shining bullet heads were surrounded with a ring of hair, and one of them resembled strongly the portrait of Louis the 18th. Two or three assistants in white robes attended beside them, and at one corner of the platform, stood a young man closely habited in black, with a candle larger than a walking stick in his hand, bowing, muttering,

and crossing himself, during the whole of the ceremony.

The service was high mass, that is, mass accompanied with singing; and however disgusting in other respects, the vocal music, with the accompaniment of the organ, was exceedingly fine. The melodious voices of a body of females rose from the lower end of the church, where, as I afterwards learned, were the nuns of an adjoining convent, shrouded behind a grating.

After consecrating the wine, in a gilt cup, the senior priest carried it down from the altar, one of the attendants then expanded over his head a large silk umbrella, of a similar texture to the robes, the other two priests followed behind him, and around were the whole body of assistants, carrying enormous wax candles. In this order the wine was paraded down to the bottom of the church, and back again, through the kneeling ranks of the congregation, who crossed themselves most zealously as it passed. By and by the same form was repeated with the wafers, and part of them administered through the iron grating to the abbess and the nuns. At intervals, silver censers filled with glowing embers were handed to the priests, and clouds of incense were offered before the altar.

I could not help remarking that the priests with all their assumed solemnity and devotion, seemed somewhat at a loss to keep it up. One of them eyed us askance with considerable intentness dur-

ing the greater part of the time, and both of the less active ones whispered occasionally to each other, and to the assistants, in a trifling and irreverent manner. The ceremonial itself was far too stiff and fidgetting to be at all imposing; a priest pulling spectacles off another's nose, marching within doors under an umbrella, and shifting from one side to another like an awkward dancer in a minuet, seems a very probable means of exciting disgust, but a very improbable one of cherishing devotion. An indescribable sensation of uneasiness pervaded my mind, during all the time that we continued in this temple of superstition; and I was happy to escape from the sickening smell of the incense, and the smoky glimmering of the candles, to the freshness of the open air and the pure light of heaven.

We were next conducted to a nunnery; but a wrinkled portress, who answered our summons at the porch, told us that no strangers could be admitted during Lent. If all the nuns within resembled her, I thought there was but little need to be very careful in locking them up. By the side of the nunnery door was a kind of small barrel, filling an opening in the wall, and whirling round upon pivots at top and bottom; this is open at one side and fitted with shelves, so that an article may be conveyed out or in by turning it round, without the parties being seen by each other, and some mendicants were waiting in the porch to receive

alms from within, by means of this machine. The old lady before sending us away, gave us to understand, that the sisters made some fine artificial flowers, of which they would be happy to sell us a few.

Mr. D—— informed us, that seclusion in these nunneries was, in many cases, by no means a voluntary act; but parents who had several daughters, were often accustomed to force one or two of them to take the veil, that they might thus be enabled to give the others a more handsome marriage portion. The daughters of our northern isle may, perhaps, envy the natives of Fayal their ignorance of frost and snow, and all the rigours of our ungenial climate; but how grateful ought they to be, that they enjoy the far greater blessings of personal and religious freedom, and that we have been rescued from the unrelenting tyranny of so demoniacal a superstition.

Villa Orta, although of a showy appearance from the water, is in reality a confused and dirty town. The streets are narrow, crooked, and ill paved, the houses low and gloomy. The buildings are of stone, covered with tiles, and except the churches, in general but one story in height. The windows are covered externally by a projecting lattice, of crossed slips of wood, painted of a dark green colour, which conceals effectually those within. They are, however, capable of being opened outwards on hinges, and we frequently saw the inmates

peeping at us from behind them. One of the largest buildings, consisting of several stories, was formerly the Jesuits' college, but is now occupied by our kind entertainer, Mr. D——, as a wine cellar, in which trade he is extensively engaged.

The only carriages which I saw, were small clumsy carts drawn by two oxen. These singular machines consist of a bottom of solid boards, tapering out in front into a single shaft, with a few rude pins stuck into it to serve in place of sides; the wheels are each of a single piece of solid wood with a thin outer edge, and have heavy iron nails hammered into the circumference, as a substitute for rings; they are fixed immovably to the axle, which revolves along with them, within a small box passing under the cart. No mercy is shown to the poor animals which drag them; we saw them urged with heavy blows and loud vociferations, while the wretched cart went wriggling through deep ruts, under the most disproportioned loads.

The Azores are subject to Portugal, and the language of that country is universally spoken. The natives are slender, but well made. The men wear cotton jackets and trowsers, and some who had come from the country with cattle for sale, carried a long staff or pole in their hands. The women are more fantastically attired. Some are completely shrouded in large blue cloaks, somewhat resembling in shape, the *red duffles* of our native country, but much more ample in their folds;

the hood is very large, and is gathered close by the hand at the mouth, so as completely to conceal the features; the upper part projects forward, and no more is left open than is barely sufficient to enable the lady to pilot her way. These are most convenient dresses for those who court concealment, for a husband cannot recognise his wife on the street, unless some peculiarity of gait or figure betrays her. Others wear a man's great coat; a large gay shawl over the shoulders, and a smaller one falling from the crown of the head to the back of the neck, surmounted by a man's hat; a white handkerchief round the throat, and a staff in the hand.

Externally the natives are amazingly polite, and universally salute you in the street, with their hand to their hat, but in the little intercourse which we had with them, we found them avaricious, crafty, and malignant. The soldiers and sailors of the health boat importuned us for money in the presence of their officers; the prices which they asked for their baskets and other commodities, were most exorbitant, and they often accepted a fourth of their first demand; but what was worse, one of them having disagreed with one of our steerage passengers, about the price of a pig, drew out a large knife and threatened to stab him.

The white wine, which is made in considerable quantities at Fayal, is, to my taste, a very poor article; it is, however, very potent, and some of

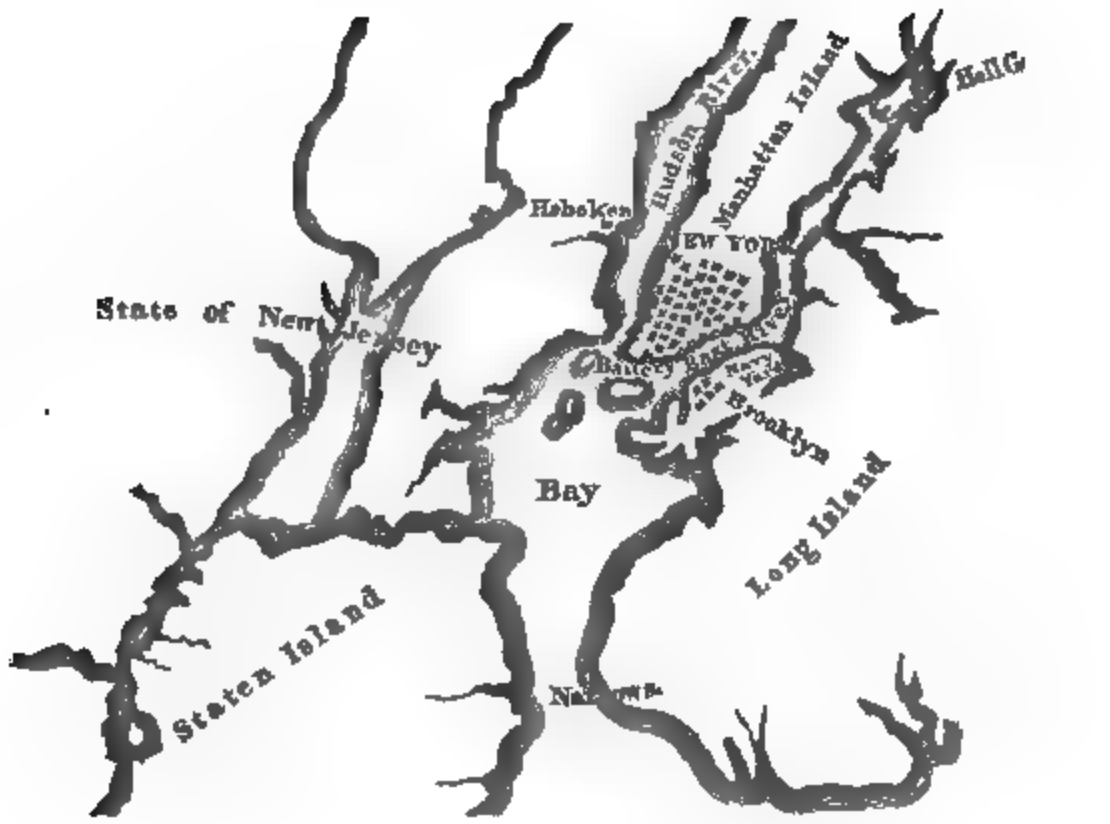
our steerage passengers got prodigiously loquacious under its influence. The grapes are chiefly the produce of Pico, where there are few inhabitants except those who are employed in the culture of the vines. Fayal produces wheat, Indian corn, oranges and lemons. The lemons are I suspect of rather an inferior quality, but the oranges, as is well known, are of the most delicious richness; the skin is thin and tender, and they contain few seeds. When allowed to ripen on the tree, however, they attain to a perfection which is never found in the exported fruit, which must necessarily be gathered when hard, or it could not endure the voyage. Fayal oranges, as well as those from all the other islands, bear the general name of St. Michael's, when in the European market.

Our arrival here has been exceedingly opportune as regards our intercourse with Mr. D——'s family, for this happens to be his eldest son's birth day. We have had in consequence an opportunity of being guests at the birth day dinner, and of mingling our congratulations on this happy occasion, with thanks for the polite attention which has been paid to us. The back of the chair in which Mr. D——, Junior, sat, was adorned with a profusion of the most beautiful flowers and fruit blossoms; a voluntary expression of regard and good wishes from the servants of the family. After dinner, two of Mr. D——'s daughters, very interesting young ladies favoured us with some fine music upon the

piano forte, and you can easily imagine with what feelings of homeward attraction I listened to the "Blue bells of Scotland," on this little fairy island in the middle of the vast Atlantic.

I could with great pleasure have spent a few days here, to have had an opportunity of climbing the vast Peak of Pico, and of enlarging my acquaintance with the general aspect of Fayal, but our captain has attained the object of his visit, and has summoned us on board, in the hope, as the wind is still fair, that the latter part of our voyage will be more pleasant and more propitious than its commencement.

LETTER II.


Hoboken
Hudson River
Manhattan Island
State of New Jersey
Brooklyn
Bay
Long Island
Staten Island

LETTER II.

VOYAGE CONTINUED—GULF STREAM—SANDY HOOK—PILOT BOAT—NEW YORK—CUSTOM HOUSE REGULATIONS—LOCAL ADVANTAGES OF NEW YORK—HARBOUR—STREETS—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—BATTERY—BAY—LONG ISLAND—BROOKLYN—NAVY YARD—STEAM FRIGATE.

New York, May, 1818.

AFTER leaving Fayal we enjoyed in general fair winds and pleasant weather, till near the banks of Newfoundland, where we experienced the usual fogs and a thunderstorm. Excepting the phenomena of the Gulf stream, we met with nothing very deserving of notice during the second portion of our voyage. This singular current is so called in consequence of having its source in the Gulf of Mexico from which it issues between Florida and the island of Cuba, and flows in a north-easterly course, skirting for a time the shore of America and then losing itself in the vast Atlantic. Its velocity near its source is about four knots an hour, which gradually decreases, as the distance from the source and the centre of the current becomes greater, but its most remarkable characteristic is the very high temperature which it retains even at

a distance of fifteen hundred to two thousand miles from the Gulf. Intelligent shipmasters are accustomed to observe the comparative state of the thermometer in the water and in the air, as an important assistance in ascertaining their course; and in going out to America they keep as much as possible to the north of the stream, to avoid its powerful obstruction. For several days we found the water from ten to fifteen degrees warmer than the air, and on one occasion the variation was as much as twenty-two; we were then at no great distance from the southern extremity of Nova Scotia, when the thermometer stood in the air at 45° and in the water at 67° Fahr.

On the seventeenth day after losing sight of Fayal, we made Sandy Hook, and had the pleasure of taking an American pilot on board. The boat in which he came out to us particularly attracted my notice, by its neatness of appearance and great rapidity of sailing. It was a small decked vessel, schooner-rigged, and very sharp in the bows. At a great distance we observed its peaked sails skimming over the water, and bearing down upon us with the utmost precision and velocity; when a short way off, its foresail was backed for a moment, and a small two oared yawl lowered over the side, which brought the pilot to our vessel, and returning, was instantly hoisted on board; the sails were again trimmed, and it darted away, as if to display its superior speed and mock our tardy motion; it

stretched across our bows, and dashed alternately to windward and leeward, sweeping round our vessel like a sea gull round a rock.

The progress of our ship up the river was prevented by a strong head wind, but the passengers were eager to get to New York, rather more than twenty miles distant, and we chartered the pilot boat to convey us: to her the head wind was a matter of little consequence, and in four hours we were safely landed at the wharf. Before getting ashore, which was about nine o'clock at night, we were boarded by the emissaries of two morning newspapers, who extracted from us the principal occurrences of the voyage, with the names of the passengers, and next morning by six the whole was served out to the public from both offices.

The custom house regulations of the United States relative to passengers, are very liberal,—all their personal luggage, and even implements of trade and husbandry for their own use, being exempted from duty; and I found the officer who was put on board the vessel to examine our trunks, perfectly civil and accommodating. His appearance bespoke him a man of habits and taste very superior to a large proportion of those whom we find performing similar duties at home, and one whom no one would be disposed to insult with the offer of those paltry gratuities, to give them no worse name, for which excuses are so frequently discovered. I had been solicited to take charge of some

volumes as presents from persons at home to their friends here, and as they could not be included in the entry which I was required to make, under the sanction of an oath, respecting my own luggage, I showed them to the searching officer, and at once obtained his permission to send them ashore. All that he detained was a selection from a bundle of tracts, which he begged me to give him with a view to their being reprinted here;—few persons in the same profession at home would have been likely to prefer such a request.

I have now spent several weeks in New York, but shall postpone for the present any remarks upon the social, moral, or political characteristics of its inhabitants, in the hope that I shall hereafter have abundant opportunities of more extensive observation; the remaining pages of this letter shall rather be devoted to brief notices of the more remarkable peculiarities of their city.

New York is built upon the southern point of Manhattan island, and enjoys a situation in every respect admirably suited for commercial purposes. The Hudson, or North River, passes it upon the one side; a narrow part of Long Island Sound, familiarly termed the East River, washes it upon the other; while in front is a noble bay, expanding between the shores of Long Island and New Jersey, in which the united navies of the world might spread their canvass. Below the bay are the Narrows, facilitating the defence of the harbour, and at va-

rious points above and below them are forts of such imposing strength, that it seems impossible that any naval armament can ever reach the city, unless in consequence of the co-operating exertions of a powerful land force. Ice very rarely, now, obstructs the navigation, and about twenty miles from the city the Atlantic opens to the vessels, without a rock or island thereafter to annoy them. With the eastern coast of America, there is a convenient and safe communication through Long Island Sound; and the Hudson, having its source in the upper part of the state, affords an inland navigation, even for large vessels, of more than a hundred and fifty miles.

Extensive as the commerce of the Hudson already is, the great canals which are now in progress, between Lake Erie on the one side and Lake Champlain on the other, must operate powerfully to augment it. New York will thus become the concentrating point, for the greater part of the commerce of the great lakes on the left, and the state of Vermont on the right; and the stimulus which is already to a considerable degree felt from steam navigation, must, from the nature of the country, operate more powerfully in this district than in any other of this vast continent. The population of the upland country will now advance more rapidly than ever, and not a tree will be felled which does not necessarily operate to increase the trade and riches of New York.

The harbour of New York is one of the best in the country, and is capable of almost unlimited extension. The wharfs skirt both sides of the island, and piers project at right angles into the stream, leaving intermediate slips, which have many of the advantages of wet docks and are free from several of their inconveniences. The tides rise and fall about six feet, but there is always water enough abreast of the piers to float the largest merchantmen. They do not however enjoy the advantage of dry docks, for the tide does not ebb sufficiently to empty them and mechanical means have not yet been resorted to; but vessels which need repair are heeled down in shallow water, first upon the one side and then upon the other.

With such accumulated advantages, in possession and in prospect, it is not surprising that New York has been hitherto the commercial capital of the United States, and the principal point of communication between North America and Europe; it is probable indeed that it will long retain this pre-eminence. Masts surround the city like reeds on the margin of a pool; and when one passes along the wharfs, and witnesses the never ceasing operations of loading and discharging, warping out and hauling in, vessels of every description arriving and sailing with every breeze that blows, together with the bustling of shippers, custom-house officers, sailors, and carmen, he cannot but be impressed with the great extent of the commerce, which can

supply such extensive means with such unceasing employment.

The streets in the lower and older portion of the city are very narrow and crooked, and what is more immediately inexcusable, kept in very bad order. Garbage and litter of almost every kind are thrown out upon the pavement, where a multitude of hogs of all ages riot in abundance. The foot walks are encumbered with projecting steps and cellar doors, lamp posts, pump wells, and occasionally poplar trees; and where any open space occurs, barrels, packing-boxes, and wheelbarrows, are not unfrequently piled up. The citizens could not, I think, do better than import half a dozen of our Glasgow police officers, to make a reform in their street regulations, and instruct them in the mysteries of common-sewers and gutters. No town affords greater facilities for subterraneous drains, for the ground slopes on both sides from the centre to the water, and no town that ever I saw stands so much in need of them. The more modern streets are greatly superior in every respect; they are in general wide and straight, and the footwalks comparatively free of projections and encumbrances. The city is throughout very indifferently lighted, and in many places the feeble glimmerings of a solitary oil lamp, must struggle past two stately trees, which stand like sentinels to defend it.

Broadway, the Trongate of New York, passes longitudinally through the centre of the city, and

occupies in general the highest part of the ground; it is wide and straight, and pretty compactly built for nearly two miles. It contains a great many well built houses of brick, but there is still a considerable intermixture of paltry wooden ones; a few scattered poplars skirt each side, but I cannot think them any improvement; their bareness in winter increases the dreariness of the prospect, and they are too ragged and dusty in summer to be at all beautiful.

The early Dutch settlers, with a pertinacious but characteristic adherence to national customs, imported bricks from Holland to construct their dwellings, and a few of these houses still remain; they are one story in height, with the gable end to the street and a little iron weathercock perched upon the top of it. The British settlers, however, of more innovating dispositions, laid the surrounding forests under contribution for building materials, and a considerable proportion of the older part of the city is still constructed of wood. Frequent and destructive fires were the natural consequence of this system, and these are still every winter grubbing out a few of the remaining wooden tenements. The erection of wooden houses is now prohibited, and the brick ones which succeed them are built with a neatness which is unknown in houses of a similar material at home. The bricks are made of a very fine clay, which affords a very close and smooth grain, and the buildings are al-

ways showily painted, either of a bright red with white lines upon the seams, or of a clean looking yellow. In many of the more recent ones, the lintels and steps are of marble. Stone buildings are very rare.

Except the City Hall there is scarcely a public building deserving of notice. This is a splendid edifice, almost entirely of white marble; the architecture however is unfortunately very faulty, so that the very reverse of Ovid's description, "materiam superabat opus," is in this case applicable. Internal convenience seems to have been the presiding principle in its design, and a republican propensity to saving, exhibited in constructing the basement story of red free stone, and the dome of painted wood, has still farther injured its appearance.

The building is an oblong square with projecting wings, two stories in height besides the basement; with a portico of half the height between the wings, and a kind of lantern dome, supporting a figure of Justice. The portico consists of sixteen Ionic columns, springing from a handsome flight of steps, but unhappily surmounted by a balustraded balcony, in place of a pediment. In the front there are no less than between sixty and seventy windows; some of them flat and others arched, and a few with intervening Corinthian pilasters. The prevailing defect is the absence of simplicity and grandeur. The portico, in relation

to the building, is exceedingly dwarfish, and the windows with their minute ornaments break down the whole into too much detail; the injudicious use of red stone also, in the basement story, materially diminishes the apparent height. The principal entrance is by the portico in front; within is a handsome lobby, with a marble stair of elegant proportions leading to the second story, and from a circular railed gallery at the landing place, ten marble columns arise, supporting the dome. The apartments of the building, are appropriated to the use of the Common Council of the city, and the different Courts of Law. The chair occupied by the Mayor in the Council Room, is the same in which Washington sat, when presiding at the first Congress of the United States; and a full length portrait of this great man, with those of some others of the Revolutionary chiefs, adorns the walls. In the other rooms there is a profusion of portraits of officers who distinguished themselves during the recent conflict. It is remarkable, that in this building there is no room at all adapted for the purposes of a popular meeting; we may well wonder at this omission in the principal city of a republican state, where every Act of the Legislature is introduced by the proud preamble, "WE THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, FREE AND INDEPENDENT."

A very few of the churches are of stone, but their architecture in general presents glaring speci-

mens of bad taste.[2] The steeples are in some cases lofty, but always of wood, and though as gay as white paint and a gilt weathercock can make them, have to one from the *old country* an air of paltriness and insecurity; one of them is so exceedingly slender that it might not inaptly be likened to an enormous darning needle. In one of the principal churches, the architect, wishing to avoid the incongruity of a steeple rising above a Grecian portico, has placed it at the other end of the building; in

[2] After the above remarks on the general style of New York architecture were written, a number of the North American Review reached me, (a work to which I shall hereafter have frequent occasion to refer) containing extracts from 'Letters on the Eastern States,' published anonymously at New York in 1820, from which I select the following corroborative testimony.

"How few buildings in this country, either public or private, are constructed with a due regard to the principles of beauty, or a wise distribution as to convenience for the occupants. How often are they left to mere mechanics, who erect them with the aid of the 'Builder's Assistant,' with about the same degree of success that would be obtained in a correspondence guided by the 'Complete Letter Writer.' —There are in Boston, Providence, and in some other towns, places of public worship that are not destitute of merit, but it is united with great defects. It would be an invidious task to point out all these, but there are two cases where bad taste has operated to destroy a good effect where it might have been produced, that may be mentioned as examples. A church was built a few years since in Boston, for which the original design was very handsome. It was intended to be a parallelogram, with a Doric portico; the walls were plain with large windows, making only one story, and built of a beautiful white granite. Thus far the original design; but the plans of an architect have to pass through the hands of a committee. The first thing that was done was to add a steeple; a very pretty one; and this though a

this there is of course only a choice of difficulties, but the result is in the present case not happy, for the awkward position suggests to the spectator the idea of a tail.

In front of the City Hall is a triangular grass plot of half an acre or so, intersected with gravel walks, and skirted on two sides with a few poplars, which is dignified with the rather inappropriate name of the Park. Green turf however is scarce within the precincts of the city, and the natives may be

sort of monster in architecture, is justifiable from the agreeable effect it produces at a distance: no church indeed ought to be built without one; a village spire is always picturesque, and awakens pleasing emotions; and the effect of steeples and domes, in giving an air of animation and grandeur to a town, may be judged of negatively, by seeing what a dull, lifeless, unmeaning aspect, Philadelphia presents to the observer without, though it is such a handsome city within. The next alteration was to change the form to an octagon, a figure which is appropriate enough for a crystal, but is an absurdity in architecture. The portico was Doric, but these columns, though made of wood, were with an Ionic proportion! thus mutilating and destroying its whole beauty. To remedy this glaring fault, an addition which does not belong to the order was put on at the bottom, to diminish their dyspeptic appearance, that only increased the disorder. If it had been proposed to paint one red, one green, one blue, one yellow, it would have been scoffed at as absurd; and yet it would have been a less grievous blunder than has been committed now, for it is not uncommon in Italy to see columns of different coloured marbles in the same edifice, where the proportions are all alike. Fortunately these deformed columns are of wood, and must soon grow shabby. They will then perhaps be replaced by columns of the Nova Scotia freestone, which is easily worked, and is now getting into use here for every thing where the chisel is required." *Vide North American Review, No. XXVIII. Pp.* 86—88.

excused although they overrate a little what they possess. The only other portions are the Bowling Green, and the Battery. The Bowling Green is a small oval enclosure, at the lower end of Broadway, in the centre of which once stood a leaden statue of our good old king; but when the natives threw off their allegiance to George the Third, they turned his representative into bullets, and fired them at his troops. The Battery is a stripe of ground at the southern extremity of the island, about a quarter of a mile in length, which in the days of the Dutch governors was the site of an earthen breast work, over which a few pieces of cannon presented themselves to the vessels coming up the bay; but the embankment has long been levelled and the guns thrown aside. It is now covered with a verdant turf, and shaded by the branching foliage of numerous trees; with a modern stone fort, of great strength, projecting from one corner of it into the water.

In a summer evening the battery is a deservedly favourite promenade, and the prospect which it affords is very rarely to be equalled. The noble bay expands before it; bounded, on the left by the sloping hills and valleys of Long Island, in front by the Narrows about ten miles off, and on the right by the shores of New Jersey. Two or three forts appear, upon as many islands, and vessels of every size, from the seventy-four gun ship, to the sloop, at anchor or under sail. The cliffs of

some stately mountain are almost all that could be desired to complete the landscape. A native of New York listens with impatience to the praises of the bay of Naples, and it is said that some who have seen both, have expressed some hesitation as to which deserves the palm. I suspect that Vesuvius is more than sufficient to turn the balance.

Long Island is a favourite summer resort of the inhabitants of New York, the climate is salubrious, and there are numerous villages at short distances along the shore. Among these is Rockaway, for some time the residence of Mrs. Graham. As yet I have only visited Brooklyn, a rapidly growing little town immediately opposite to New York, with which a steam ferry-boat affords the means of easy communication. The ground upon which it stands, with all around it, was long the patrimonial inheritance of a race of contented Dutchmen, who, hating innovation and restlessness, peacefully gathered apples or drove their cows to grass, where there forefathers had done the same. At last one, more adventurous than his fellows, perhaps from an intermixture of New England blood which is now forgotten, ventured to break up a portion of his farm for building ground, in despite of shrewd shakings of the head, and ominous prognostications of disaster. Now streets after streets cross each other, and a populous suburb is shooting up apace; while a little above it the United States have established a navy yard, and are building ships of war.

The navy yard is most conveniently placed upon the bank of a commodious little bay, opening into the Sound, where vessels of the largest class may float in safety. Here lies the famous steam frigate, 'Fulton the First', dismantled and roofed in; which through the kind offices of a friend I have had an opportunity of visiting. On the stocks in the yard is a seventy-four gun ship, to be larger than any of that class that have yet been launched; she will carry at least 90 guns, and it is said that they are to be all forty-two pounders.[3]

'Fulton the First' is a most singular machine; in shape pretty nearly an oblong octagon, rounded off a little at the corners. A most tortoise-looking man of war. We entered by a gun port upon her principal deck, and carefully explored every nook to which we could find admittance. Since visiting her I have had an opportunity of reading an official description, by the commissioners who superintended her while building, and the following combines what I saw, with the information which that document affords;[4] the accuracy of the details may, I believe, be relied on.

The steam frigate is a double boat, resting upon two keels, with an intervening space, 156 feet long and 15 feet wide, in which the paddle wheel revolves; this is carefully covered in, so as to be as

[3] She has since been launched and is named the Ohio.

[4] This is to be found in one of the early numbers of Constable's Magazine, but I cannot at present ascertain which.

much as possible unapproachable by shot. The wheel has a free motion both ways upon its axis, so that it can propel the vessel with either end foremost: for this purpose each individual boat has two rudders, one at each end, which are also carefully defended; each pair acts simultaneously, and when the pair at one end is in operation, the other is secured so as to offer no obstruction to the vessel's progress. She carries two bowsprits and two masts, which are intended to bear what are called latteen sails.[5] The rigging formed no part of the original design, but was added at the suggestion of Captain Porter who had been appointed to her command. The sides are four feet ten inches thick, composed of four thicknesses of oak timber, alternately vertical and horizontal. Her gun ports, thirty in number, are all on the principal deck, and go completely round both ends of the vessel, so that if necessary her shot can fly simultaneously at every angle like radii from the centre of a circle. She carries thirty-two pounders, some of which are in the carriages; with these she is intended to throw red hot shot, for preparing which she is amply provided with furnaces. Fulton also intended that she should carry upon her upper deck four Columbiads, as they are called, enormous guns capable of discharging a ball of a

[5] Three cornered sails, bent upon a long yard, which crosses the mast angularly, and common in small vessels about the Mediterranean.

hundred pounds weight, into an enemy's vessel, under the water mark. At present however her upper deck is without any armament, but surrounded with a strong bulwark. The officers' cabins are in the centre of the vessel, on the main deck. The steam boilers are contained in the one boat, and the engine in the other, but of their appearance or that of the paddle wheel, I can say nothing, as the whole were completely shut up.

Room is left for a machine which Fulton purposed to add, capable of discharging with great force an incessant stream of water either hot or cold, which it was anticipated would completely inundate an enemy's armament and ammunition, if it did not also destroy the men. Our newspapers, copying the marvellous reports which were afloat respecting her, assured their readers that this nondescript man of war was to brandish along its sides some hundreds of cutlasses and boarding pikes, and vomit boiling pitch on her unfortunate antagonists; these however are poetical exaggerations. Her machinery impels her at the rate of five and a half knots an hour, and her inventor felt confident that in a calm, or light breeze, no seventy-four would be a match for her. It was even hoped, that she might have been able to raise the blockade of New London, which was long carefully watched by a British squadron, could her energies have been brought into timely operation.

The commissioners were harassed with numer-

ous obstacles in getting her constructed, and their difficulties give a pretty lively idea of the distress which generally prevailed throughout the country. Our vessels kept the whole of the sea coast in a state of close blockade, and it was with the greatest difficulty that building materials could be got for her. Timber, copper, iron, lead, and coal, required to be imported from distant parts of the Union, or from foreign countries, and the vigilance of our cruisers allowed so little to escape, that they were all scarce and enormously expensive. Ship carpenters had been sent off in such numbers to the lakes, and so many stragglers had volunteered into the army and navy, that workmen could scarcely be procured, and only for very high wages. When she was launched, no artillery of a suitable description was to be found in New York; but a British prize was opportunely brought into Philadelphia, and twenty of her guns were dragged round through the deep roads of New Jersey. The state of public credit was another source of embarrassment. The commissioners were supplied by government with treasury notes, which were then at a considerable discount, but which they were positively forbidden to pay away under par. Even this depreciated paper was occasionally so long withheld, that they had in some cases to pledge their private credit, and in spite of all their efforts, the men at one time actually broke off from working; while those who had furnished building materials

were discontented and importunate. These interruptions were chiefly felt in the latter part of 1814, and they continued till winter made it impossible for the vessel to act, even had she been finished. Peace, which was concluded early next year, rendered her for the present useless, and it was thought unnecessary to furnish her with a full equipment; but the commissioners persevered in completing her construction, and in June she made the first trial of her machinery. On a subsequent occasion she made a trip to Sandy Hook, with a considerable part of her artillery and stores on board, saluting the forts as she passed them; and the last occasion on which her powers were put in requisition, was when the present President, Mr. Munroe, made an official tour through the Union.

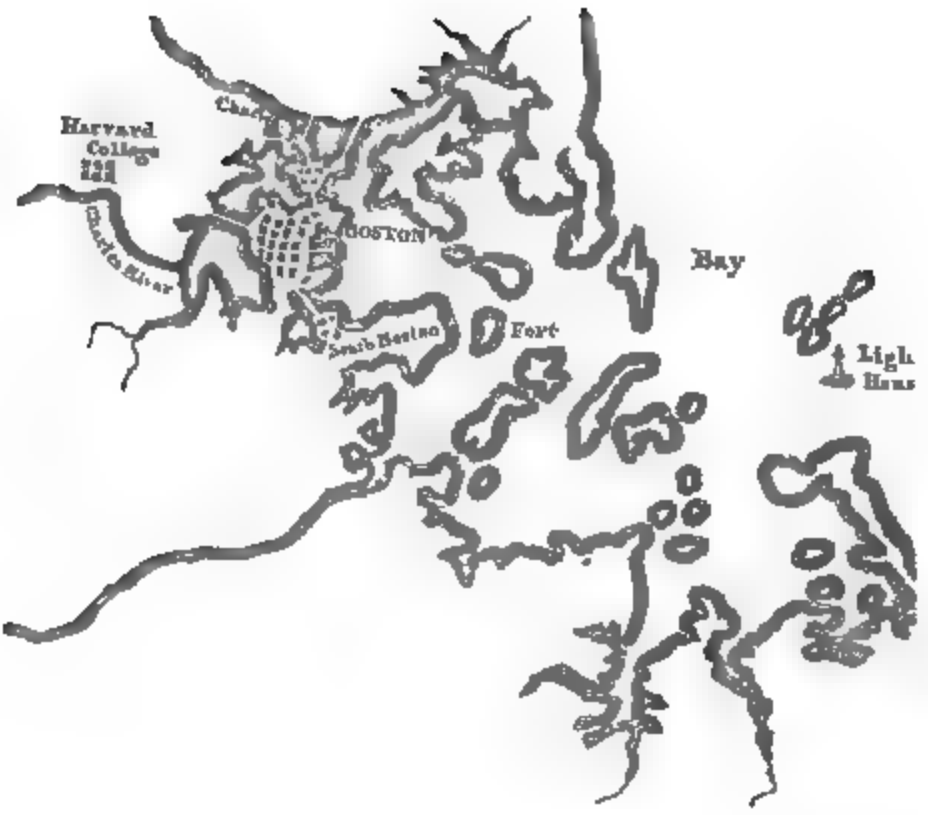
I have endeavoured to ascertain whether as much confidence is reposed in her powers as to realize the anticipations of her projector, and to justify the panegyrics of the newspapers; but I am led to think, that considerable doubt prevails as to the possibility of working her, so as to make her efficient against an enemy's vessel. Fulton died before her engine was put on board; had he lived to superintend its complete adjustment, it is impossible to say to what degree of perfection he might have brought it, but his biographer acknowledges that there are, at present, great and obvious defects in her machinery. During the trial voyages various inconveniences were experienced, one of these

was the heat of the furnaces, which is so insupportable, that the engine-men cannot remain beside them for more than a minute or two at a time. In the confusion and bustle of an action it would probably be found extremely difficult, if not impossible, to regulate, with deliberation and coolness, the many complicated operations which would be necessary in such a machine; and where so much internal combustion is going forward, the slightest inattention or accident in managing the powder, might be instantaneously fatal to all on board. Should they succeed in overcoming these difficulties, and acquire that expertness in her management which practice alone can be expected to produce, we can scarcely imagine for a bay or harbour, a more powerful instrument of attack or defence. Independent of wind or tide, she could plough her way under an enemy's stern, or across his bows, and vomit forth her flaming balls, wherever the foe was most vulnerable; while the reverting of the paddle wheel would instantly relieve her from a wrong position, without the delay of working round, and the enormous thickness of her sides would render any but the largest guns inefficient upon her timbers.

The commissioners in their last report recommended, that, notwithstanding the peace, she should be commissioned and sent to sea, that officers and men might be trained to her management, and that defects in her construction, might be discov-

ered and obviated; but this recommendation could only have been complied with at an expense which would ill agree with American ideas of economy, and here she lies, slumbering in ignoble indolence and security. I would add with all my heart, *Requiescat in pace!*

LETTER III.


Harvard
College
Charles River
BOSTON
Bay
Fort
Light
House

LETTER III.

BOSTON—LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS—MALL—STATE HOUSE—CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY—ANNIVERSARY ORATION—VISIT TO A SEVENTY-FOUR GUN SHIP—PROCESSION OF FREE NEGROES—LUNATIC ASYLUM—PENITENTIARY—AMERICAN PRISON DISCIPLINE—HARVARD UNIVERSITY—NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW—BOSTON ATHENÆUM—HONOURABLE ACT OF BENEVOLENCE—STATE OF RELIGION—SERMONS—HEAT OF THE WEATHER—FROG CONCERT—FIREFLIES.

Boston, July, 1818.

DURING the period which has elapsed since the date of my former letter, I have traversed several hundred miles of this western continent, and after visiting both Upper and Lower Canada have arrived by a circuitous route in Boston; I delay however, for the present, giving any account of my Canadian travels, as it is probable that a better opportunity will afterwards occur, and proceed rather to make you somewhat acquainted with the ancient capital of New England.

Boston occupies a small peninsula in Massachusetts bay, and possesses a safe and commodious harbour, strongly defended from maritime attacks. The commerce of Boston is very considerable; probably in this respect it ranks as the fourth city in the United States, for New York, Philadelphia, and I believe New Orleans, are before it.

The town has outgrown the limits of the position which it occupies, and Charlestown upon an opposite peninsula, and South Boston upon the main land, may be regarded as integral parts of the city. Circumscribed, however, as they are, the citizens have had the good taste to reserve a park of upwards of forty acres, upon which no buildings have been allowed to encroach. The Mall, as this is called, is surrounded with spreading elms, and is the finest that is to be found within the limits of any considerable town in the United States. It would be needless to remark how much it contributes to the beauty of the town, and the comfort of the inhabitants, were it not that so simple and so obvious an ornament is strangely overlooked in the larger American cities, notwithstanding the abundance of *elbow room* which all of them enjoy.

Boston has much more of the appearance of a British town than New York. Many of the buildings are of a fine white granite, and most of the others are of brick; the streets are very compactly built, and although many are narrow and crooked, all exhibit a degree of order and cleanliness which will in vain be looked for in New York. On a finely rising ground at the upper part of the Mall, stands the State House, a building of humbler pretensions as to size and materials than the New York City Hall, but in situation and architectural outline greatly superior. It is nearly square; in front is a lofty projecting colonnade of the Corin-

thian order, twelve columns in length, springing from a piazza of rusticated arches, but unhappily bearing only a balustrade, over which rises a small attic story with a pediment; and overtopping all is a large circular dome terminated by a small square lantern. From the lantern of the State House a most commanding view is obtained of the surrounding country. In front is Boston bay, studded with nearly forty islands, with fortifications and a light house; the shores which surround its ample basin, advancing and receding with most capricious irregularity, and forming numerous capes and peninsulas, on one of the largest of which is the city. The vast amphitheatre around the bay exhibits a country richly variegated with hill and valley, immense forests and cultivated ground; and sprinkled with about twenty little towns of snowy whiteness, among which a dozen of spires may be counted.

The celebration of the Fourth of July, the anniversary of the national independence, took place since my arrival here; but the public demonstrations of joy were, in most respects, so similar to those with which we hail our king's birth day that a very minute detail of them is unnecessary. In the morning the national banner was displayed from all the public buildings, and from the masts of the vessels in the harbour. The Independence of seventy-four guns, and the Guerriere of forty-four, were both at anchor in the bay; the former of

which was profusely decorated with colours, and each, at noon, fired a salute of twenty guns. In the Mall were numerous booths, where refreshments of various kinds found ready customers, but I thought this system of punch-drinking little calculated to sustain the dignity of the festival. The militia and volunteers of the city and neighbourhood paraded in the forenoon and fired a *feu de joie*. The volunteers resembled very much those at home, excepting that in place of being collected into one respectable battalion they consisted entirely of independent companies of fifty or sixty men; each company had a different uniform, blue, red, or white, and no way remarkable for neatness of make or decoration. It seems strange that they should choose a system of training, which prevents them from ever acquiring a knowledge of battalion movements, and could in the event of active service produce nothing but confusion. The Governor of Massachusetts received the congratulations of the various public functionaries, and distinguished citizens, and sat down, with above four hundred persons, to a cold collation which was served up in the principal room of the State House. The apartment was decorated with banners of various kinds, disposed in tasteful festoons upon the walls; and the pillars which support the roof were encircled by a double row of muskets and bayonets, the upper ones inverted and the bayonet points meeting each other. The whole had a very im-

posing effect. After the entertainment the Governor and his guests walked in procession from the hall, and the chaplain for the day, a Baptist minister, walked conspicuously by himself dressed in full canonicals.

In the forenoon an oration was pronounced, in accordance with annual custom, on the subject of the national independence, and the causes which led to it. This is in every point of view well calculated to perpetuate those principles of liberty, to which the nation owes its existence; to fan the spark of patriotism, and foster that love of country, which has been the theme of the poet and the orator in all ages. I unfortunately did not hear of this oration, until after it had been delivered; I have however lost only the effect produced by it on the audience, for the speech itself has been published.

The orator was a Mr. Gray, and his address is more characterised by plain good sense, than by declamatory brilliancy. It has the merit of being free from that vituperative abuse of Great Britain, in which mere mob orators in the United States are prone to indulge, and which, I am afraid, is sometimes a cheap substitute for purity of principle and good citizenship. America has undoubtedly been wronged by Great Britain, at many times, and in many ways, but these wrongs have been productive upon the whole of only temporary evil, while the benefits which she has derived from the

same source pervade her whole system; give sinews to her strength, wisdom to her councils, intelligence to her people, and dignity to her national character. But for these she could never have either achieved or maintained her independence, and were it possible to separate from her population, all that has been derived from the laws, institutions, and literature of my native country, personal liberty, security of property, freedom of thinking and of speech, and last of all, true and vital religion, with all the moral effects which have flowed from these, would vanish like a dream, and an American contemplating the dreary void, would have good reason to sigh, "*Fuimus Troes!*" Few, probably, of sober reflection and impartiality will be found to deny the truth of these positions; then why should Britain be hated by an American?—why should he not rather overlook a little of that feeling towards the United States, which was scarcely separable from the circumstances in which the two countries were placed by the revolution, and was too long kept alive by errors in the conduct of both governments, towards each other; but the inveteracy of which is now, I trust, rapidly decreasing, and will soon be remembered only as a subject of regret, and a powerful reason for future kindliness and friendship. It is the characteristic of noble minds to forgive injuries; and with all our faults, there is confessedly so much in our national character deserving of respect, and even of imitation, that

Americans must certainly be themselves in no small degree of error, if they do not feel a warmth of affection towards their parent country.

Mr. Gray's speech is probably rather a favourable specimen of the anniversary orations of the Fourth of July, and a specimen or two of its contents may not be uninteresting.

"This," says the orator in commencement, "is a glorious but a solemn day. Set apart for the celebration of independence, a common object of enjoyment and solicitude to us all, it ought not to be disturbed by controversy, nor wasted in mere exultation. It should remind us of our high responsibility, as well as our distinguished blessings; and direct our attention to the origin of the national privilege now commemorated, since this, like others, can neither be appreciated nor preserved, without a knowledge of the principles on which it is founded, and the means by which it was established. This duty of recurring frequently to the establishment of our independence, fortunately perhaps for its performance, is also a triumph; for there is not on record a revolution more sound in principle, more temperate in conduct, more beneficial in result.

"The encroachments of the British government on the liberty of the Colonists were the commencement of our revolution. But these cannot be assigned as its cause; oppression not being of itself sufficient to produce liberty. Many nations have

borne a heavier yoke than that which it was attempted to impose on this, and uttered no murmur; some have had the impatience to complain, without the courage to resist; while a few have been goaded into desperation, only to waste their strength in ill-directed and ineffectual struggles, and to fall at last feebler victims. Nor are we indebted for independence to the peculiar talents of the individuals, illustrious as they were, who placed themselves in the front of danger, as the guides and leaders of the people. Men determined to be free, will never want a leader to freedom, and those willing to endure despotism will never follow one. Exhortations to resist, as well as commands to obey, are dependent for their effect, on the temper and character of those to whom they are addressed. It is undoubtedly the conviction of this truth, which has induced you to select for the topic of the orations annually pronounced before you, not the injustice of your enemies, not the talents and virtues of the great men who occupied the posts of danger and of glory, during the struggle for the establishment of independence; but the feelings, manners, and principles, which led to that event."

He then traces the origin of the feelings which led the Colonists to declare themselves independent, to that spirit of reformation which pervaded Europe when their forefathers emigrated from its shores; and more especially to the self-devoted enthusiasm of the Puritans, which led them

to abandon home with all its endearing ties and recollections, that they might enjoy the yet dearer treasure, unfettered liberty of conscience. These principles regulated the system of government which they adopted on landing in the American wilds, and produced that simplicity of manners, general diffusion of education, equal distribution of property, and persevering firmness of purpose, which characterized the early settlers; while these peculiarities, in their turn, all tended directly to cherish the spirit of manly independence.

He next states the grand principle of all representative governments, that the people is the source of legitimate power;—shows how this was disregarded by the supreme government in its conduct towards the colonies, and alludes to the discontent, disobedience, and resistance, which successively arose from it. He then notices in terms of glowing commendation the moderation, firmness, and prudence of their forefathers, and reminds them of the high responsibility under which their children lie, to preserve what they had won, and to profit by the enjoyment of it.

The means by which this is to be effected, are next adverted to by the orator, and he calls upon them to foster their religious and literary institutions, and carefully to protect their political system. "Let your constitution," says he, "be scrupulously respected and preserved; touch it not rashly and irreverently even for a good purpose. Let it

be a holy thing; a common object of universal attachment; something fixed and stable, to be a rallying point in every disturbance, and to concentrate at all times the affections of the people. Rather than accustom yourselves to trifling innovations in it, submit to slight and temporary inconvenience. It is the part of wisdom to render even our prejudices, for men will have prejudices, conducive to our happiness. If it should not be lightly altered, still less should it be made the mere tool of convenience and expediency by forced constructions. This would expose it to contempt; and when it ceases to be respected, how can it be obeyed? It is your duty not only to preserve the form of your political institutions, but to maintain their spirit, and to watch over their administration. The example of your ancestors will teach you to intrust the direction of public affairs, not to the men who prefer your pleasure to your interest, and their own aggrandizement to both; who rush into the front rank of popular impetuosity, that they may seem to be its leaders; and rise highest in the whirlwind of passion, that they may have the glory of appearing to direct the storm; but to those who seek to enlighten, not to inflame, who merit confidence by their integrity, and wisdom, and experience, in public service; who respect the opinions, and the very prejudices of the people, but disdain to flatter either their passions or their vanity, or to make public duty subservient to private interest

or ambition; who do not court office, nor solicit honour, but avoid no task, and shrink from no responsibility, properly imposed on them." These you must do, much more you may do. "Spare no exertions to improve the arts, and extend the sciences, and polish the literature of America." Keep free from the political broils of other nations. "The conviction that the security of a free government is to be sought only in the situation, habits, and temper of the community, will deter you from the chimerical idea of liberating other countries by force; and teach you that the subversion of a throne, is not necessarily the establishment of a republic; that a nation trained up to servitude cannot be made free by breaking the bonds of government, nor derive lasting benefit from any revolution which does not begin in the character of the people; and that the true deliverers of men suffering under long established despotism, are those who instruct them." The knowledge of this truth, he remarks, will prevent needless apprehensions. Republican governments are not without their inconveniences and imperfections;—their rulers may be guilty of errors or of crimes;—but there is inherent vigour to survive the effects of these, and they must and will happen without either their liberties being lost or their constitution subverted. "Would you know," says he in conclusion, "when you may despair? When the institutions of your ancestors are neglected, their example forgotten,

their sentiments abandoned, their manners perverted, their principles betrayed; when religion and learning are ridiculed and despised; when all independence of sentiment is lost, and the rich trample on the rights of others from pride, or the poor from rapacity; when you dread the voice of truth, and have no ear but for your own praises; when men distinguished by talents, moderation, and integrity, are objects of suspicion; when disunion renders you a military people, and thus prepares you to submit to the dominion of force; or luxury bows your necks to the still more degrading yoke of corruption; then is your liberty destroyed, then are your constitutions a dead letter, then is the nation ruined. But I trust in God, that neither you nor your children will behold that day."

Such is the republican oration of Mr. Gray, and I see little in it which even a monarchist could brand as political heresy. While we regard only human means, there can I think be little doubt that kingdoms as well as republics will be stable or insecure, in proportion as its sentiments are respected or disregarded.

The evening of this national anniversary closed with another salute from the two ships of war, and a few voluntary rockets and other fire works. I saw no rioting or tumult in the streets, nor did I hear of any giving scope and illustration to their democratic patriotism, by breaking lamps and windows, or insulting peaceable inhabitants.

The naval events of the last unhappy rupture between the nations made me desirous of seeing an American ship of war, and I have had this desire gratified in a visit to the Independence of seventy-four guns. The Guerriere, which is anchored beside her, was built as you may guess from the name to commemorate one of our losses during last war; she is a fine looking vessel and is about to carry out Mr. Campbell, the American Ambassador, to Russia. My conductor in this visit was an American army officer, and probably to his acquaintance with the officers of the Independence we were indebted for the honour of being taken on board in a twelve-oared boat. A marine on duty at the gangway carried arms when we stepped on deck, and the boatswain greeted us with his whistle. The Independence, like all the other American ships of war, has no poop deck, but is perfectly level fore and aft;—this though less convenient to the officers, so far as regards their cabin accommodations, is thought to give advantages in working the vessel, and imparts to the deck an appearance of amplitude and neatness. The eye without difficulty runs along the graceful slope, and takes in at one glance the various objects which present themselves;—the bulwarks and hammock nettings, the guns lashed to the sides, the wheel, the capstan stuck full of cutlasses, the masts, the windlass, and the hatchways; all are seen and their relations at once understood, while every thing seems arranged

so as best to secure rapidity and regularity in a storm or an engagement. On the upper deck of the Independence is the Captain's cabin, but Commodore Bainbridge her commander was not on board during our visit. On the lower deck are those of the Lieutenants, which as in our own vessels are merely temporary erections along the sides of the ship, and are cleared away in preparing for action. Here is also the tiller, a long and heavy bar of hammered iron, fitted with tackling and blocks which communicate with the quarter deck, and are put in motion by a large double wheel. Towards the centre of this deck are the pumps, which are wrought like our fire engines. While we walked along, we saw the starboard mess at dinner; the seats and tables are planks suspended from the roof at right angles to the ship's sides. On one of these I noticed two Bibles with the stamp of the American Bible Society, which bore evident tokens of having been perused. The sick births are in the bows, the cots are slung from the roof, and neatly hung with curtains. Lower still, and under the level of the water is the cockpit where is the Surgeon's station in an engagement, and towards the stern of the vessel the Midshipmen's births; we saw some of them busy by lamp light at their nautical calculations. On the same deck we saw the stores of the Gunner, Sailmaker, Carpenter, Painter, &c. The extreme neatness, cleanliness, and systematic arrangement which prevail in a ship

of war, make it an object deserving of examination, apart from every consideration as to the purposes of its construction; and so far as my limited knowledge of nautical affairs could carry me, every thing on board this vessel appeared to be of the first rate order. A certain class of our writers affect to undervalue the American navy, but I am persuaded that were another war unhappily to take place between us, there is not an officer in the British service who would prepare for action with an American ship, without

> "That stern delight which warriors feel
> In foemen worthy of their steel."

The Independence although rated as a seventy-four, actually carries ninety-two guns; those on her quarter deck and forecastle, are 32 pound Carronades; on the upper deck, long 24 pounders; and on the lower deck, long 32 pounders. She was intended to have carried thirty-two pounders upon all her decks, but it was found that they sunk her too low in the water. She measures about two thousand three hundred tons, and her full complement of men is eleven hundred.

Negro slavery, that bane of American prosperity, has been for a considerable time abolished in Massachusetts, and the blacks commemorate its abolition by an annual procession which I have had the pleasure of witnessing. The appearance of their long array was rather grotesque, and afforded a good

deal of merriment to the Boston wags; and some printer, to turn the joke to account, has published a caricature of it with a mock account of the subsequent dinner. The older blacks who headed the procession carried short batoons, some of them wore cocked hats, cockades, epaulets, silk sashes, and top boots;—after them a party of younger ones followed bearing formidable pikes with tin heads, and a few flags; several bands of music were placed at intervals along the line, and it was closed by a multitude of black boys, two and two, in their gayest apparel. A great number of female blacks lined the side walks. In this order the whole proceeded to church where they heard sermon; the men afterwards dined together, elected office-bearers for the following year, and according to custom on such occasions "spent the evening in the utmost conviviality and good humour."

It was gratifying to witness the happy looks, and fantastic dresses of these free blacks, and to think of the event commemorated by their holiday procession. Melancholy reflections however were suggested by the remembrance, that though they could no longer be bought and sold, like the inferior animals or a mass of inanimate matter, yet chains of a stronger kind still manacled their limbs, from which no legislative act could free them; a mental and moral subordination and inferiority, to which tyrant custom has here subjected all the sons and daughters of Africa. I shall not at present enlarge upon

the condition of this unfortunate race, there will be but too frequent opportunities of recurring to the subject.

There is building in the neighbourhood of Boston an asylum for Lunatics, which is in an advanced state of preparation. America has been hitherto deficient in retreats for those unfortunate individuals, whom God has in his providence visited with mental alienation. It is not indeed surprising that where population has advanced with such rapid strides, the proportionate provision should scarcely have been made for that most afflictive of all temporal calamities; much however has been done, and much more is doing, to vindicate Americans from any imputation of insensibility to the sorrows of their suffering fellow creatures.

The Lunatic Hospital, as it is called, is a mile and a half from Boston, and the direct approach to it is by one of the many wooden bridges "which with their wearisome but needful length," connect the town with the surrounding country. The situation is exceedingly well chosen; the buildings crown the brow of a rising ground, which swells gradually from the water, commanding a very fine view of the city and the bay, and enjoying a free circulation of the purest air. The effect of such a situation must be tranquillizing to the mind of the convalescent, and cheering by its variety to the drooping and despondent. Ten acres of ground which, with an ancient mansion house, were formerly

the property of an opulent merchant, are appropriated to this benevolent institution. The recent proprietor is no longer a sharer in sublunary things, and his house, which has been one of elegance in its day, is undergoing some alterations to render it a convenient residence for the keeper and his assistants. This is the centre building of the Hospital and communicates by low galleries with two new ones, containing rooms for the patients, which have been erected at right angles to the first, so as to form three sides of a court. In their size and internal arrangement the two sides are exactly alike; they are three stories high, a lobby runs through the centre of each story, and on both sides of it are six apartments, forming a total of seventy two in the two wings. Over the door of each apartment is an opening of about a foot square; the two centre rooms on each side of the lobbies are to be supplied in winter with heated air, by flues from an air furnace in the ground story, the other rooms have fire places. None of the rooms are yet quite finished, so that it must be left for future travellers to report as to the details of the internal arrangement, and the treatment of the patients.

Civil communities sooner feel the need of receptacles for evil doers, than for the sick or insane, and with this Boston has been long provided. The Penitentiary, or State Prison, is constructed and regulated exactly on the present plan of the one in Philadelphia, which has been so long celebrated.

The system adopted there must be universally commended as a humane effort to restrain the wickedness of men, without that profuse application of capital punishments which characterize the more sanguinary codes of Europe; and as a most interesting experiment on the possibility of preventing crime rather than punishing it, and reforming criminals rather than extirpating them.

The Boston State Prison consists of a range of buildings of granite, containing numerous apartments for lodging the prisoners, and extensive work shops for carrying on various handicraft arts, with a spacious open court which affords a free circulation of air to the whole establishment. The prison is surrounded by a high wall, with turrets and platforms at the four corners, on which sentinels keep guard with loaded muskets. On approaching the prison we found a keeper overlooking a number of the delinquents, who were repairing a strong palisade fence which forms part of the outer works. The men were dressed in party coloured clothes, with each half of their jacket and trowsers of a different colour; one arm was of red, the other of blue, one leg green, the other gray. This was intended to facilitate the apprehension of any that might happen to escape, for they would thus carry about with them, till they found means to change their apparel, a most conspicuous badge of the society from which they had absconded.

In the keeper's office, a general explanation was

given me of the system of management. All the prisoners except those condemned to a solitary cell are employed in some manual art; if they have been previously taught one which can be practised within the prison walls they are of course set to it, if not, as most frequently happens, they are instructed in one. Part of them are kept in regular employment by tradesmen who provide them with work; the rest are variously employed on behalf of the establishment. Of their earnings, the greater part, along with the profit on manufactured articles, is appropriated to the expenses of the prison; a small proportion is allowed to accumulate for the benefit of the prisoner, that he may be stimulated to good behaviour and industry, and if disposed to lead an honest life when his term of punishment expires, have a little money with which to make a commencement. The expenses of the establishment however have always exceeded its receipts, and the deficiency is provided for by an annual vote of the State Legislature. In the keeper's office is a supply of arms and accoutrements, to equip his household and assistants in the event of any attempt at outrage on the part of the prisoners; of these weapons however I believe they have never yet had occasion to avail themselves.

Going out into the court yard, we found in it a great number employed in hewing blocks of granite into graduated sizes and shapes for building. This is a staple commodity in the prison, and a stock of

building stone is kept constantly on sale. In the work shops we saw the prisoners variously engaged, as bakers, weavers, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, turners, brush makers, nailers, woolcombers, spinners, &c. &c. All seemed to be as busy and as attentive to their work, as if it had been their chosen and voluntary employment; and the workmanship which they produced seemed not only good, so far as I could judge, but some of it even of a superior finish and appearance. The clothes of some of the workmen were not of that party-coloured kind which I remarked on most of them, and the keeper informed me that this was an indulgence granted to those whose conduct was exemplary; it had been recently introduced and had been found to have considerable influence upon the prisoners, giving them the idea that some degree of confidence was reposed in those who were so distinguished, and that they had thus made one step of approximation towards the character of honest men and good citizens.

The prisoners are not allowed to utter a word in the presence of strangers, and at all times quietness and decorum are rigidly enforced. The female delinquents are confined in a separate part of the prison, and are employed in cooking, washing, and sewing for the establishment, as well as in other branches of female industry.

During the whole year the prisoners are required

to rise half an hour before the sun.[1] They commence labour at sunrise; at eight o'clock they are allowed fifteen minutes for breakfast, at noon half an hour for dinner; they leave off work at half an hour before sunset, are allowed fifteen minutes for supper, and at sunset are locked up. Their food consists of rye and Indian corn bread, cocoa, molasses, soup, vegetables, and occasionally meat. A sermon is preached to them every Sabbath, and I believe the more ignorant are instructed in reading.

Prisoners who are disorderly are punished by privations of various kinds, and sometimes by solitary confinement, when they are not allowed to converse even with the man who brings them their food; some I observed with a clog of wood chained to one foot, which they were obliged to carry in their arms when moving from place to place; this is the only species of corporal punishment which is allowed. As we passed along, a mulatto boy distinguished by this *order of merit* came up to the conductor, and begged hard to be released from it; this however was decidedly and somewhat sternly refused, and the keeper told me that it would not have been asked, but that they expect to find him more easily mollified in the presence of strangers, for the sake of thus acquiring the character of kindness and humanity. I

[1] It must be recollected here that an American summer day is considerably shorter than ours.

observed that a very considerable proportion of the prisoners were men of colour. It is but too obvious that these unfortunate people are in a great measure outcasts from society; they are too often left without education when young, and treated with distrust when older, till they become gradually and almost necessarily not trust-worthy; and having no character to lose, they feel little scruple, when honourable means of support fail, in having recourse to those of another kind.

I was next conducted to their sleeping apartments, which are at the opposite side of the court-yard, and have every appearance of being both comfortable and secure. A gallery runs along each floor between two ranges of small rooms, in each of which are wooden bed frames for four, consisting of two upper and two under births, but both on the same side. Two narrow openings in the wall admit air and light; the walls are white washed and every thing perfectly clean. Under the sleeping apartments are the solitary cells, and above is an hospital for the sick; we found few in it, and all of them in the way of recovery.

The building is every where of very great strength; many of the blocks of granite of which it is built are twelve feet long, and in the sleeping rooms and galleries those forming the floors and roofs in all cases reach from wall to wall. The doors on the sleeping rooms are of iron, some of them solid and others grated; a strong iron

door also terminates each gallery, so that the escape of the prisoners seems altogether hopeless. The keeper indeed said that none had ever effected their escape by force, although one or two had succeeded by false keys. An Irishman had on one occasion got out in this way from one of the solitary cells, but being unable to reach the padlock which is fastened outside of the door at the end of the gallery, he concealed himself till sunset, when they happened to bring in another prisoner, and managed to slip out unobserved while they were lodging him in his cell; the sentinels had just been removed from the walls, as they always are after the prisoners have been locked up, and Paddy was never more heard of. There are at present in confinement 369 persons, and I was happy to learn, that among all these there is but one Scotsman.

Of the efficacy of the penitentiary system, as at present administered, the keeper appears to be very doubtful; and it is unquestionable that an opinion prevails, in the larger cities, that for the purpose of either deterring from crime or reforming the criminal, the penitentiaries are at present in a great measure inefficient. The prisoners are in many respects too comfortable to feel their confinement as a very severe punishment, for although the deprivation of personal liberty is in itself a great hardship, it may to very many be compensated for by a degree of comfort in clothing and habitation, to

which they are elsewhere unaccustomed. It cannot be doubted that in America they have now gone to the extreme of leniency, in their criminal code, as we have to the extreme of severity; theirs is undoubtedly the side on which all humane persons would wish to err, but too much mercy to rogues is cruelty to society at large, and is therefore to be avoided if we would wish to attain to a perfect criminal system. Much may be done however to improve the prison discipline of the American penitentiaries, without properly speaking increasing the severity of the treatment.

In the one which I have just described there was not, so far as I could discover, any thorough classification. The males and females were indeed separated, a most essential point, but there appeared to be no farther distribution of the prisoners, excepting that which arose from the different arts at which they were employed. All those of one occupation were together, without any regard to whether they were young or old offenders, whether their term of imprisonment was short or long, whether the crimes which they had committed were trifling or enormous. Of mere boys or girls indeed I saw none, but I saw many who although not boys were very young men, and who ought by all means to have been subjected to a different course of discipline from that which was suitable for older transgressors.

There was also far too much facility for com-

munication between one division of the establishment and another. There may be rules for aught I know to prevent criminals going about from their own department, but there were no doors to shut them up. The doors from the court to the different workshops were all open; so also were the windows, and there seemed to be nothing to prevent the occupants from free intercourse with each other. In this way each sees and hears so many around him, engaged exactly like himself, that even although there should not be a very great deal of communication, they cannot be said, during the working hours at least, to feel the confinement more than the workmen in our larger manufactories; and they are so constantly employed that they have not time for sober reflection, on their past life or future prospects. An equally obvious defect is the practice of allowing four of them to pass the night in the same apartment. The average time of their being employed is not much above twelve hours a day, and there cannot be a doubt that there is time during the other twelve for a great deal of useless, probably pernicious, conversation, without materially interfering with the hours of sleep. Were they kept completely apart, and left to the secret suggestions of their own consciences, it might be expected that while some would relent and probably amend their ways, all would feel much more severely the restraint upon their liberty and comforts.

Another obstacle to the efficacy of the present system, is the lavish profusion with which pardons are granted. I believe that want of accommodation sometimes renders this necessary, since but for pardoning the older criminals, room could scarcely be found in the present buildings to accommodate the new ones; but whatever may be the cause, it is certain that be the term of imprisonment what it may, ten years, twenty years, or life, a criminal may almost count with certainty on being released in three, four, or five years, if he behave with any moderate degree of propriety. I have no document beside me stating the number of pardons granted annually in Boston, but from a printed account of the New York State Prison, it appears that the total number of prisoners in the year 1814 was 709; of which 29 died in the course of the year, 10 were discharged in consequence of the expiration of their sentences, and no less than 176 were pardoned. It is obvious that this system must be ruinous in its consequences, and that there must be some capital defect in the criminal discipline of the community where such a practice prevails. It sometimes happens that the same individual is imprisoned and pardoned several times over, for crimes which in Britain would at once send him either to Botany Bay or to the gallows, and thus rid society of him altogether. I do not think by any means that ours is the only alternative, nor do I suppose it possible by any expedient completely to prevent

the repetition of crimes by the same individual; but certainly to let loose upon society rogues who have been frequently guilty of flagrant outrages, and to have no means of intimidation powerful enough to deter them from a pretty frequent repetition of their crimes, proves that something yet remains to be done ere the criminal code of the United States can be considered perfect. While you divest yourself however of all thoughts as to the drawbacks connected with the Penitentiary system, as at present conducted, you certainly cannot contemplate the interior of this great manufactory without emotions of peculiar satisfaction. To see so many hands which were formerly active only in crime, now taught to be equally active in some useful art; to think of the humanity of the system as contrasted with that of Britain; and to witness the cleanliness, order, and regularity, which pervade the whole establishment, make you almost forget that you are in a receptacle for knaves or fondly believe that they are so no longer, and internally exclaim, 'This must be a noble institution.'[2]

[2] In all that has of late been written by benevolent individuals on the criminal code and jail economy of our native country, particular reference has been made to the penitentiaries of America, especially that of Philadelphia. A little additional information, therefore, to what has been communicated above, cannot be out of place here.

"The penitentiary system," says an intelligent and candid writer in the North American Review, "proposes to reform the criminal and restore him to society, penitent and useful. It proceeds upon an hypothesis favourable to human virtue, and to the effect of moral

The state of Academical education in the United States is a matter respecting which much ignorance prevails in our native country. I hope hereafter to transmit a detailed account of the discipline of Yale College, in New Haven, in the mean time I am enabled to communicate a few particulars

intelligence. It rests for its efficacy upon the truth of the proposition, that reformation may be brought about by discipline and instruction; and that if the motives to an honest life are properly exhibited and enforced, there is good reason to expect that they will influence the conduct.—It cannot be denied that in respect to general design, the latter of these two systems *(the European and the American)* has greatly the preference. They have however both their respective advantages, nor is either without its peculiar disadvantages. Judging by the effects produced, neither of them has answered its original design. In England the sanguinary system of punishment has not diminished the number of criminals, and has begun to excite a disgust, which prevents its enforcement; while in the United States the practical operation of the penitentiary system has cooled the ardour of its friends, and excited doubts of its permanent utility. The warmest advocates of these institutions will probably admit that they have not in all respects corresponded to their wishes, but whoever contends that they have been wholly unproductive of benefit must surely be very little acquainted with their history.—The great source of disappointment is unreasonable expectation. More benefit has been anticipated than it was prudent to propose. The advocates of this improvement in humanity have been too ardent and sanguine. They have promised themselves too much, and injured their cause by the disappointment which has followed.—We do not believe in the empiricism which pretends, by a certain specific, to cure every possible evil. But we maintain that the regimen of the prison is, with the blessing of heaven, a mean of destroying a great mass of moral corruption, and diminishing those seeds of vice, from which spring the greatest harvest of misery. In the walls of the penitentiary will be found not only the incorrigible offender, but the inexperienced

respecting that at Cambridge, about three miles from Boston.

Harvard University is the most ancient and most amply endowed classical establishment in the United States; it was founded in 1638, in pursuance of the will of a clergyman of the name of

culprit.—Should such persons as the latter be whipped and discharged into the same scenes, the same company, the same misery, and the same temptations, and the almost inevitable renewal of their crime and their punishment! Will you convert a single error into an irreparable crime! Or will you not rather place the miserable patient where, by a kindness he will regard, and a discipline he must feel, he will become sensible of his wickedness, and be removed from the dangerous connexions in which it originated. Among such unfortunate criminals there is hope of amendment. From this great and growing class, many may be preserved from ruin, the living witnesses of the excellence of the institutions by which they have been restored to society. That our State Prisons have answered this valuable though moderate expectation, is abundantly proved by an inspection of their records. In the early period of the Philadelphia penitentiary, when it was conducted with indefatigable attention by its philanthropic founders, 'the prison was a school of reformation, and a place of public labour, and of the many who received the Governor's pardon, not one returned a convict.' At a later period out of nearly two hundred persons, who had been recommended to and pardoned by the Governor, only four had returned; the roads in the vicinity of the city so constantly infested with robbers were seldom disturbed by those dangerous characters; the houses, shops, and vessels, so perpetually robbed, no longer experienced those alarming evils. There had been but two instances of burglaries in the city and county for nearly two years.—The early history of the New York State Prison gives the same result, and its recent and present failure to meet the public expectation can be accounted for, without controverting the grounds on which this mode of punishment is justified. In Massachusetts, from the opening of the State Prison in December 1805,

Harvard, who bequeathed for this purpose the half of his property, amounting to about £800 Sterling. Various Governors of the State, and other individuals, have been its subsequent benefactors, and under the fostering care of the local government it has enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, and

to 15th April 1817, there were received 918 convicts, of whom 79 were afterwards returned, 305 were then in custody, 38 had died, and the remaining 496 had never been brought again within the prison limits. During the same period 155 had been pardoned, of whom 11 had proved themselves unworthy of the favour, but 144 had not been known to be again the subjects of criminal law. Of those who were liberated, many are known to the officers of that institution to have become industrious and useful citizens. These facts prove the utility of the institution in certain cases, and in a proportion which is gratifying to its advocates; while the farther fact that five convicts had been returned four times each, and one five times, proves also that to expect reformation in every convict is altogether idle. The prescription will not suit every patient, and moral as well as physical disease will sometimes baffle the efforts of human wisdom."

Thus far this judicious writer proves to us the reasonableness and the practicability of the system; he then asserts that these institutions have not accomplished all that might reasonably have been expected of them, and that some of them after having for a time done well, fell into a state of inefficiency and disorganization.

The first cause of their failure was the expense of supporting them. The public had too hastily adopted the idea that a penitentiary should in a great measure support itself, and when a vote was required to defray expenses, and supply deficiencies, the people grumbled and the money was with difficulty obtained. "This expense is a charge upon the public; and to render it as small as possible, the penitentiary character of the establishment is made a secondary consideration. It is no longer a place merely of moral improvement, where industry is enforced as a part of necessary discipline, but it becomes a great workshop, in which every man is labour

has gradually advanced in wealth and literary respectability. The University consists of two departments, the Literary, and the Medical; the latter of which, although an integral part of the institution, occupies buildings in Boston, for the greater convenience of medical students.

ing for the public, and obliged to add as much as possible to the capital stock. The effect is seen in a variety of indulgences granted to the convicts, and to the superior importance which is attached to profit over manners. The institutions themselves are contrived with regard to economy, and as the prisoners increase in numbers a separation becomes impossible, they mingle together in the workshops, are crowded in the cells, and have opportunity by injudicious intercourse to confirm each other's bad habits, and to combine against the natural tendency of their punishment."

"Another cause exceedingly injurious to the moral effect of these institutions is the character attached in public estimation to the unfortunate inmate even after he quits the walls.—The charitable Quakers who commenced these institutions, did not leave the poor man at the threshold of the prison door, exposed to the wants of poverty, and thrown among the temptations of the world with no safeguard but his unconfirmed moral feelings. They procured employment for him, gave him countenance and character, watched over him with assiduity, and prevented any backward step, by holding out allurements and motives to honesty. The case is now changed, little or no provision is made for the discharged prisoner. The cares of the government do not extend beyond the prison walls. Society marks a man who has once been in confinement with a jealous eye.—Honest men avoid him. The police keep an eye upon his motions. Is a robbery committed, he is the first person suspected. Is labour wanted, he is the last person employed. In fact by the general public sentiment he is driven into the haunts of profligacy and crime.—Whenever these remarks apply, and the discharged convict under the influence of the evils that surround him, is forced upon the commission of new offences, the blame is laid to the nature of his former

The buildings at Cambridge are eight in number, erected in an enclosed plain of fourteen acres, sheltered on three sides by forest trees, and in the immediate vicinity of an extensive common. Three of the buildings contain the lecture rooms, chapel, library, laboratory, &c. the remainder consist of

punishment, and not, as it ought to be, to the incomplete performance of the duty which the public had assumed. First make the system perfect; establish all the parts of which it is composed and then ascertain the result." *North American Review, No. XXVII. Pp.* 235—248.

In a more recent number of the same journal the subject has been resumed, and I transcribe the following additional observations on the deterioration which has taken place in the administration and efficiency of the American penitentaries.

"If our State Prisons have not produced all the good effects that have been expected, it is not owing to the nature of these institutions, but to the improvidence of the several legislatures in not preparing adequate room for the number of convicts. The prison of Philadelphia was not originally constructed for this purpose; yet it was successfully administered, until the increase of criminals, and the refusal of the legislature to build another prison, so accumulated the convicts, that all possibility of classification and separation was destroyed. It was worse in New York—the prison, originally intended for three hundred, afterwards contained more than double that number, and when we visited it a few years since, a large part of the convicts could not be employed for want of room, and some of the best of them were 'pardoned out' every month, for no other reason than to make way for new convicts, that the course of justice might not be impeded by the want of room to execute its decrees. This is now remedied in New York, by the establishment of an extensive bridewell, and the erection of a new prison in the western district of the State. Pennsylvania is building a larger prison, expressly adapted to the purposes both of labour, and seclusion." *North American Review, No. XXXIII. Pp.* 419, 420.

apartments for the students, who here as in the English Universities reside within the walls. The largest building is of fine white granite and was erected in 1814; it is said to have cost nearly seventeen thousand pounds sterling: the rest are of brick, and some of the larger ones cost from five to six thousand pounds sterling.

It will be obvious from the above extracts, which convey a very accurate idea of the present state of prison discipline in the United States, that the Penitentiary system has while properly administered answered in a high degree the purposes at once of punishment and reformation; but it is equally obvious that at present the penitentiaries are in a state of partial, if not total inefficiency, arising solely from inattention to the most obvious suggestions of common sense and experience in regard to their management. So universal has been the outcry of the public on this subject, that means have already been taken in some of the States to reform and invigorate the system; and in the last Session of Congress, a Committee was appointed to investigate and report respecting the general state of the penitentiaries throughout the Union. Their report, which is prodigiously long although upon the whole judicious, is concluded by the following "broad positions:" "*First*, That the penitentiary system, as it now exists in the United States, with all its defects, is preferable to the former systems of punishment in this country. *Secondly*, That it is capable of being so improved as to become the most judicious and effective system of punishment ever known in ancient or modern times. *Thirdly*, That where it has been properly administered, as it formerly was in Pennsylvania and New York, it has succeeded and answered the expectations of its early friends. *Fourthly*, That solitary confinement by night and by day, combined with other regulations suggested in this Report, will remedy all existing evils. *Fiftly*, That it is the duty of the different States of the Union to proceed without delay to its improvement and perfection. *Lastly*, That corporal punishments, and the infliction of death, would not

The library, which is rapidly increasing, contains already upwards of seventeen thousand volumes, many of them of great rarity and value. I saw in it a large paper copy of Walton's Polyglot, said to have been the presentation copy, and a very beautiful manuscript of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, executed for Dr. Mead by an English schoolmaster, and by the Doctor's son presented to this University. This manuscript is quite a gem. It possesses indeed none of the mouldy charms of

prove congenial to the moral sentiments and feelings of the American people; and that the transportation of convicts is visionary, impracticable, and would not prevent crimes and offences, even if it were adopted in our penal statutes. The Committee hope and trust, that enlightened, humane, and public spirited individuals of the different States in the Union, will feel the responsibility that rests upon this country, in relation to the system of which we have so fully spoken."

Vide "*The Investigator,*" *No. XI. January,* 1823, *P.* 168.

One remark more shall close this long note. It can scarcely fail to occur to all who have ever taken part in the direction of any institution, intended to alleviate either the physical or the moral maladies of our species, that however indispensable general rules of management and classification are, it is also absolutely necessary to give them full efficacy, that zealous and conscientious individuals should devote their time and their energies to the good work, not from mercenary considerations, but from that hearty desire to do good for which the projectors of the Philadelphia penitentiary were so distinguished. Few such institutions are successful, however unexceptionable their rules, without some portion of ardour, perhaps enthusiasm, in the managers; and few are altogether unsuccessful where this *enthusiasm* is found, even although the economy of the system should be in some degree erroneous. Some information respecting the new Philadelphia penitentiary will be found in Letter Seventh.

extreme antiquity, nor can it be appealed to as authority for settling a doubtful reading, but the execution is in every respect most beautiful. The paper is of the finest fabric, the binding and case which contains it are both of rich Morocco, but above all, the Greek characters are formed with the most exquisite symmetry and elegance. Enclosed with it is a history of the volume in the autograph of the donor. Among the philosophical apparatus are many instruments by the best London makers. I saw also a collection of wax models of the human body, and some of its principal portions, used in popular lectures on anatomy which form part of the academical course. They seemed to be prepared and coloured with great delicacy and correctness; part of them had been imported from Florence, and others were the workmanship of an Italian emigrant.

The academical course is completed in four years; students are termed successively, Freshmen, Sophomores, Junior, and Senior, Sophisters. At the conclusion of the course, candidates for the degree of Bachelor in Arts undergo rigid examination by the various Professors; after being three years Bachelor they receive the degree of Master, without any farther examination, provided that there has been nothing in their conduct to dishonour the profession of letters. There are three terms in the year, and the vacations amount together to about three months. The expense of

board and education cannot be reduced, with the utmost attention to economy, below four hundred and fifty, to five hundred dollars, or about one hundred guineas a year; in most cases students expend a great deal more.

The literary and scientific reputation of Harvard University stands very high; and except Yale College, none in this country can contest with it the pre-eminence. It has upwards of twenty Professorships,[3] and between three and four hundred students. There is one feature however in its character which excites the most melancholy reflections; its theological creed is undisguised Socinianism, and it is said that nearly all the professors are of these sentiments. This must be, to a parent of

[3] The following I believe to be a pretty accurate list of the present Faculty of Harvard University. (February, 1823.)

John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., President.

Dr. Aaron Dexter, Professor of Chemistry.

Dr. Henry Ware, Hollis Professor of Divinity.

John Farrar, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Sidney Willard, Professor of Languages. *(Particularly the Oriental.)*

Dr. John Popkin, Professor of Greek. *(Reading of the Classics.)*

Levi Hedge, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics.

Edward Everett, Elliot Professor of Greek Literature. *(Philosophy of the Language.)*

Edward Channing, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory.

Andrews Norton, Professor of Sacred Literature and Biblical Criticism.

Hon. Isaac Parker, Royall Professor of Law. *(Chief Justice of Massachusetts.)*

scriptural sentiments, a powerful reason for sending his sons elsewhere for their College education; for what are literary or scientific attainments, even of the highest order, when weighed in the balance with purity of religious faith? It is asserted indeed on behalf of the University that no attempt is made to proselyte its students, and that they are allowed to attend worship with whatever denomination they or their friends may choose. All this may be true so far as regards active and open endeavours to inculcate doctrinal sentiments, but what is to be the young enquirer's defence from that subtile leaven which is necessarily infused into almost every lecture upon morals and philosophy; which affects the essentials of the system, and

Hon. Ashbel Stearns, Professor of Law.
Hon. Joseph Story, Professor of Commercial Law.
(Vacant.) , Professor of Moral Philosophy.
Thomas Nuttall, Massachusetts Professor of Natural History.
—— Ticknor, Smith Professor of Spanish and Italian.
F. Sales, Professor of French.
Two Tutors of Latin, one of Greek, two of Mathematics.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Dr. Jacob Bigelow, Rumford Professor and Lecturer on Materia Medica and Botany.
Joseph G. Cogswell, Professor of Mineralogy.
Dr. John C. Warren, Hersey Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.
Dr. James Jackson, Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic.
Dr. John Gorham, Professor of Chemistry.
Dr. J. F. Dana, Chemical Assistant.
Dr. Walter Channing, Lecturer on Obstetrics.

therefore all its ramified details; and which tinctures every conversation on a religious topic which meets his ear? Although he were safe from the influence of the lectures, who will warrant him against the ridicule and the sophistry of his fellow students; by far the greater part of whom are of Unitarian families, and who have been accustomed from their infancy to laugh at every distinguishing principle of that belief to which they deny the character of *rationality?* Four years' exclusive intercourse with Socinians, spent in acquiring ideas upon every subject of speculative and experimental truth, is an ordeal to which no Christian parent ought to expose his son, however great his confidence in the correctness of his principles, and the vigour of his mind.

From Harvard University press issues the North American Review, beyond all comparison the first literary journal in the United States. The reputed editor is Professor Everett, and it evinces in him and his coadjutors talents and acquirements, literary and philosophical, of a very superior order. Would that its theological opinions were from a purer source!—happily they are but seldom obtruded.

At Boston I visited another collection of anatomical preparations in wax, by a Dr. Williams. A full length figure, modelled from the body of a criminal, exhibits the exterior muscles; and various other models represent portions of the interior me-

chanism of the human frame, and the different stages of some of its most important functions; they were beautifully executed, but I am not qualified to pronounce upon their anatomical accuracy.

Boston is rich in public libraries, and among these the Athenæum claims pre-eminence. This institution contains a library of about 20,000 volumes. The regulations prevent the books from being taken out of the rooms, but there are reading desks for the subscribers, and strangers introduced by them, at which in the most perfect silence they extract the mental nourishment which the volumes afford. A copy of Bowyers' edition of Hume's History of England was pointed out to me; I observed also many of the best editions of the ancient classics, and some splendid volumes of engravings, and works on natural history. The librarian informed me that to one London bookseller alone, they had paid for books upwards of twelve thousand dollars; £2700 sterling. In works on American history, the collection is said to be quite unrivalled. The Athenæum, although richest in the literary department, is intended to be also a depository for curious specimens of natural and artificial productions. It possesses a considerable number of Tassie's casts from antique gems, with a few busts, and a valuable collection of coins and medals.

The Athenæum was incorporated in 1807, and a stock subscribed in shares of 150 dollars, to the

amount of about ten thousand pounds sterling. To attempt such an institution was highly honourable to Boston, and to succeed in it was still more so; it marks a greatly advanced state of society, in respect of taste and intellectual refinement, and is of itself a sufficient answer to much of the coarse abuse with which the American character has been assailed.[4]

Boston is by many reputed the most hospitable of all the large cities in the United States. It becomes not a wanderer who has experienced kindness and attention wherever he has gone to exalt one city at the expense of others, but I can with safety say, that I have met with nothing in Boston which is not perfectly in harmony with such a reputation. Let me however record an act of the citizens still more honourable than the ordinary deeds of hospitality. In the winter of 1816 a

[4] The American newspapers have recently announced a splendid instance of individual liberality to this institution. A Mr. James Perkins of Boston, of the house of Messrs. J. & T. H. Perkins, has presented to the Athenæum, for the better accommodation of its treasures, a spacious building valued at 20,000 dollars; £4500 sterling. Amid all the patronage which has been bestowed on literature in our native country, I question whether we could point to an instance of equal generosity among our living commercial men. Some people become liberal in the distribution of their property when death is at hand and they can hold it no longer, but Mr. Perkins gives his townsmen the benefit of his commercial prosperity while he is still among them. Mr. Perkins, as might indeed be inferred from the character of his gift, is said to be a person of distinguished literary attainments. (1822.)

most destructive fire desolated a great part of the town of St. John's, in Newfoundland. When the tidings reached Boston, the sensations of sympathy and commiseration were instantaneous and powerful. They did not however exhaust themselves in unavailing expressions of regret; the townsmen determined that their kindly feelings should be felt as well as heard of. Forgetful that the year before the two countries had been enemies to each other, forgetful of every mercantile jealousy, and the contested right to fishing on the banks which America was eager to claim and Britain reluctant to concede—they recollected only, that hundreds of their fellow creatures had been burned out of their homes, amid the frosts, and fogs, and snows, of a Newfoundland winter, and that a great part of their winter provisions had perished in the flames. That very day a vessel was chartered, and a full cargo of flour, meat, and other provisions, industriously collected and put on board; I believe that even the porters and carmen on the wharfs laboured gratuitously; and on the third day the vessel left the harbour, to brave the hardships and the dangers of a winter passage to that inhospitable shore. He who prompted the act of humanity, watched over the means employed to accomplish it; the vessel reached Newfoundland in safety, entered the port, discharged her cargo, and returned, with the overflowing thanks and benedictions of many a grateful heart.

The state of religion in the capital of New England is far from cheering. Whether the contagious influence spread from Harvard University to Boston, or from Boston to it, I know not, but though both were once distinguished for evangelical sentiments, both are now alike characterized by the lamentable predominance of Socinianism.

There are in the town about twenty-five churches, in more than a half of which these sentiments are avowedly or disguisedly promulgated; of these one is episcopalian in its ecclesiastical system, and uses a prayer book which has been altered in accommodation to these sentiments. It is distressing to think that the descendants of the Puritans, whose conscientious adherance to the most important religious truths drove them from their native land, should have departed so widely from adherance to those doctrines which are the only foundation of a sinner's hope.

The other churches in Boston are, three Episcopalian, four Baptist, one of which is entirely of blacks, two Congregational, two Methodist, two Universalist, and one Romish.

I have heard five discourses in Boston; two of them in a Congregational church, from men of very considerable talent and determined zeal for evangelical sentiments. One of them illustrated the answer to Pilate's question, "What is truth?" and combated with much earnestness and ability the

doctrines of that large class who in Boston so vehemently oppose it.

The other two discourses were by the Baptist minister who was so conspicuous in the procession on the Fourth of July; they were respectable in talent and unexceptionable in doctrine. Between sermons on the Sabbath I saw him baptize two persons, in presence of two or three hundred spectators. In the afternoon he dispensed the ordinance of the supper to a large congregation, as he is accustomed to do once a month, and took occasion to remark that it was twenty eight years, that very day, since he had first presided among them on a similar occasion. The males and females of the congregation occupied different pews, and the latter were by far the more numerous.

The mode of conducting worship in both these churches was similar. The psalms and hymns used are chiefly those of Dr. Watts, and the singing is left entirely to a choir, perched in front of the gallery with their music books before them, and aided by instruments. This is a cold and very spiritless substitute for the united worship of the congregation. It was in fact a mere musical parade, for while the singers rose and performed every one else kept his seat in silence, and the scene was nothing calculated to awaken or sustain the fervour of grateful devotional feeling. How inconsistent with every right idea of social worship, to see a man after the service was over unscrewing a clarionet,

putting the pieces into a leathern bag, and with the utmost indifference and unconcern stuffing the whole into his pocket!

There are several Sabbath Schools in Boston, one of which I visited. It was conducted in the English style; there were six teachers present, and they informed me that there were about one hundred scholars on their list, but not a half of that number were in attendance.

Within the last three weeks I have begun to experience the heat of an American Summer. The Thermometer at mid-day has ranged generally from 80 to 90 Degrees, and on last Sabbath, which was the hottest day of all, it stood thus; at half past Six A. M. 81°, at Ten 90°, at Noon 93°, half past Two P. M. 96$\frac{1}{2}$°, Five 94°, Ten 82°.

You have read Miss Edgeworth's tale of "To-morrow," and will recollect the incident of the "Frog Concert." Since my arrival in America I have had frequent opportunities of listening to these performances. Marshes and ponds are filled with shoals of the Bull Frog, an animal four or five times as large as any of our hopping countrymen, who whistles away almost without intermission. Some of the frogs, probably the younger ones, have a pretty shrill note, others a deeper tone, and some tickle the auditory organ by a perpetual *trill.* The combination of these various strains produces an effect not altogether unmusical, and the distance to which the sound reaches is very great; sometimes

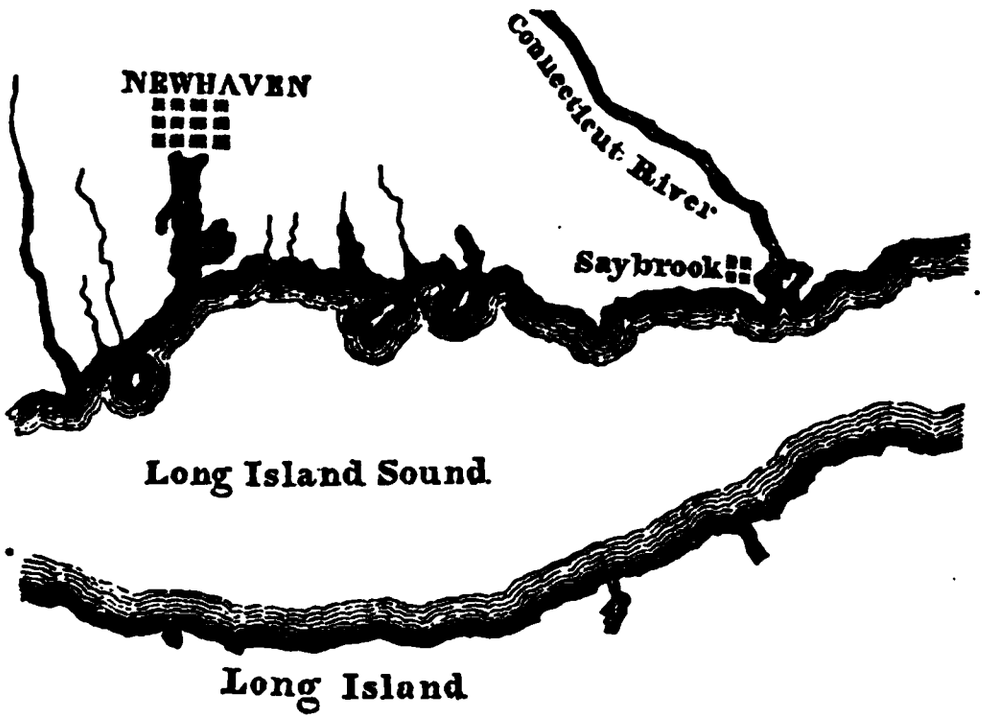
more than a mile. At first I enjoyed it pretty much, but the perpetuity with which it is continued makes it exceedingly tiresome, and to be kept awake during the night by their monotonous tune makes one very apt to lose temper at such untimely serenades.

Let me introduce you to another of my American acquaintances, the Firefly; more engaging in its manners than the other. Myriads of this brilliant little insect float through the air in the summer evening. The spark of light which they emit is of vivid brightness, and from the fluttering of their wings twinkles incessantly. Moore in one of his songs, has made a pleasing allusion to these meteoric atoms—

> "She is gone to the Lake of the Dismal Swamp,
> Where all night long by her Firefly lamp,
> She paddles her white canoe."

Unlike the Mosquito, which is a great annoyance here, the Firefly neither sings nor bites; it flutters and sparkles its little hour, and passes away—an apt emblem of many a thoughtless son and daughter of the human race.

LETTER IV.


NEWHAVEN
Connecticut River
Saybrook
Long Island Sound
Long Island

LETTER IV.

APPEARANCE OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN—NEW HAVEN—SCENERY—ANECDOTES OF THE REGICIDES OF CHARLES I.—ANCIENT AND MODERN BURYING GROUNDS—A FUNERAL—CHARACTER OF THE NEW ENGLANDERS—THEIR FONDNESS FOR SCOTISH POETRY AND NOVELS—STATE OF EDUCATION—SCHOOL FUND—STATE OF RELIGION—ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM—UNUSUAL OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH—SERMONS—SABBATH SCHOOLS.

New Haven, Connecticut, July, 1818.

THERE is nothing in Britain that bears any resemblance to a New England town, and it is not easy to convey to you an adequate idea of its singular neatness.

The houses are generally of wood, painted white, and decorated with Venetian blinds of a brilliant green. The solid frame work of the walls is covered externally with thin planks, called by Americans clapboards, which overlap each other from the eaves downward, and serve effectually to exclude rain. The roof is covered with shingles, which are thin slips of wood put on like slates, and painted of a dark blue. The buildings are in general about two stories in height; the door is decorated with a neat portico, and very frequently a projecting piazza, most grateful in hot weather,

with benches under it, extends along the whole front of the house. Mouldings and minute decorations of various kinds are carried round the principal projections. A garden is not unfrequent behind, and a neat wooden railing in front, enclosing a grass plot and a few trees. Such houses would soon look rusty and weather beaten, were they in our climate, but they enjoy here a purer atmosphere, and the smoke of coal fires is unknown. The painting is renewed about once a year, which serves to preserve the wood for a long time.

The churches, or meeting houses as they are more generally called, are in the smaller towns also of wood, and with the addition of a steeple and a gilt weathercock, resemble very much the other buildings. In the large towns they are of brick or stone, but retain in almost all cases the green Venetian blinds upon the windows.

The streets are wide and generally run off, at right angles to each other, from a large open square covered with green turf, in the centre of the town; the churches, town-house, and an inn or two, not unfrequently front this green. Gravel walks skirt many of the streets, and occasionally rows of limes, or poplars. The agreeable succession of gardens, grass plots, trees, foot walks, and buildings, gives an air of rural quietness to the town; and the open space which frequently intervenes between one house and another, prevents much of the danger which would otherwise arise

from fire. Every thing betokens an unusual share of homely simplicity and comfort, and the absence at once of great riches and of great poverty.

New Haven possesses most of the distinctive peculiarities which I have now noticed, but combines with them much of the compactness, durability, and bustle, which we usually consider inseparable from a town. The churches and a great many of the dwelling houses are of brick, a few even of stone, and two or three of the streets are very closely built. The numerous buildings also of Yale College, all of brick, and constructed with regularity and neatness, complete its claims to superiority. The population of New Haven is about 7000.

The country around New Haven is very picturesque. Behind the town, at a distance of about two miles, is an amphitheatre of rugged hills, not unlike some of our Scotish scenery; in front is an inlet from Long Island Sound affording a safe and commodious harbour; to the right and left a richly cultivated country relieved by patches of forest, and in wide expanse before it the blue waves of the sea rolling in magnificence. Two bare precipices called East and West Rock, 400 feet high and about two miles apart, form part of the semicircular range; they are prominent features in the landscape, and events in the annals of our native country with which they are associated, impart to them that traditional charm which is so often

wanting in American scenery. In the fastnesses of these rocks some of the regicides of Charles 1st found shelter from their pursuers, when the agents of his profligate son hunted them for their lives. Their story is so interesting that I cannot forbear transcribing a portion of it from an early number of the Quarterly Review.[1] The event with which it is introduced took place during a war between the New England Settlers and the Indians, which ended in the utter extermination of the aboriginal tribe,[2] by which the Eastern coast of the United States had been previously possessed.—

"The most impressive circumstance in the course of this war occurred at Hadley: the Indians having laid Deersfield in ashes, surprised Hadley during the time of public worship. The men of the town had long been in the habit of taking their arms with them when they attended divine service, —they were however panic-stricken and confused, and in all human probability not a soul would have escaped alive, had not an old and venerable man, whose dress was different from that of the inhabitants, and whom no one had seen before, suddenly appeared among them; he rallied them, put himself at their head, gave his orders like one accustomed to battle, led them on, routed the enemy,

[1] Vide Quarterly Review, Vol. II. P. 324.

[2] The tragical death of their high minded but unfortunate chief, "Philip of Pokanoket," forms the subject of one of Mr. Irving's affecting papers in the second volume of the Sketch Book.

and when the victory was complete, was no where to be found. This deliverer, whom the people thus preserved from death and torments long believed to be an angel, was General Goffe, one of the men who sat in judgment upon Charles 1st. His adventures in America are deeply interesting. He and his father-in-law General Whalley, another of the King's judges, left England a few days before the Restoration; they landed at Boston, waited on Endicot the Governor, to inform him who they were, took up their residence in a neighbouring village, and were greatly respected, till the hue and cry followed them from Barbadoes. They were then warned to make their escape, and accordingly they removed to New Haven, a place about a hundred and fifty miles distant. Here they owed their lives to the intrepidity of the minister John Davenport, who when their pursuers arrived preached to the people from this text. 'Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon day, hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab,—be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.'[3] Large rewards were offered for their apprehension, or for any information which might lead to it. Davenport was threatened, for it was known that he had harboured them:—upon hearing that he was in danger, they offered

[3] Isaiah xvi. 3, 4.

to deliver themselves up, and actually gave notice to the Deputy Governor, of the place of their concealment; but their friend had not preached in vain, and the magistrate took no other notice than to let them be advised not to betray themselves. Their hiding-place was a cave on the top of West Rock, some two or three miles from the town. Once, when they ventured out for provisions, they hid themselves under a bridge while their pursuers passed over it:—once they met the sheriff who had the warrant for their apprehension in his pocket,—but they fought for their lives, and before he could procure help escaped into the woods. After lurking two or three years in the cave, or in the houses of their friends, they found it necessary to remove, and were received at Hadley by Russell, the minister of the place, with whom they were concealed fifteen or sixteen years. Whalley died at Hadley in 1688, and about a year afterwards all tradition of Goffe is lost;—one is willing to hope that he returned to England. Colonel Dixwell, another of the King's judges, found shelter also in America;—he visited his fellow exiles in their concealment, and being himself unknown, settled and married at New Haven under the name of James Davids. By that name he signed his will, but there he adds to it his own, and his tomb-stone is shown at New Haven with only the initials 'J. D. Esq. deceased March 18, in the 82d year of his age, 1688'. Another stone with the initials 'E. W. Esq.' is tradi-

tionally supposed to mark the grave of Whalley: —if it be so, his bones must have been removed there by Dixwell; an affecting act of pious friendship."

I have seen both the grave stones which are here alluded to; they still stand in the old burying ground behind one of the churches. The inscription on the first is in rude characters, and is thus arranged;

I . D Esqr.
Deceased March $\dot{y}$
18 in $\dot{y}$ 82d year of
his age 1688^{9}.

The other stone, which has been supposed to commemorate Whalley,[4] must have been erected over some other person whose name and history have been lost, for the date which has been generally read 1688, is in reality 1658. The mistake has arisen from a slight injury which the stone has in some former day received, and which has imparted

[4] President Dwight, in his Travels, which have been recently reprinted in this country, communicates some additional information respecting these interesting men. Whalley had been secretly buried by his kind protector Mr. Russell, and his bones were many years after found within a rude tomb of mason work, covered with hewn flags, outside of Mr. Russell's cellar wall. The bones were discovered by a Mr. Gaylord, who had pulled down the house to rebuild it; he was personally known to Dr. Dwight and communicated to him this information. "After Whalley's decease," adds Dr. Dwight, "Goffe quited Hadley, went into Connecticut, and afterwards, according to tradition, to the neighbourhood of New York. There he is said to have lived some time, and the better to disguise himself, to

to the figure 5, something of the shape o an 8, although it is still quite possible to decipher its original form. It is thus arranged:

1658
E. W.

None of these relics will long survive, unless prompt measures are adopted for their preservation. The ancient burying ground is no longer used, the fence around it has gone to decay, and the moss-grown grave stones are rapidly disappearing under the dilapidating attacks of idlers, who are daily defacing these frail memorials of the dust which sleeps below. Many of them have been transferred to the new burying place, and although this destroys completely the charm of associated locality, it is better that they should be preserved any where, than destroyed altogether.[5]

The new cemetery which has sprung from the ashes of the old one, in simplicity of arrangement and elegance of monumental decoration, leaves at a

have carried vegetables at times to market. It is said that being discovered here, he retired secretly to the colony of Rhode Island, and there lived with a son of Whalley during the remainder of his life."—There is an obscure and very doubtful tradition that he was buried at Hadley. *President Dwight's Travels, Vol. I. p. 353. American Edition.*

[5] An attentive and valuable correspondent writes me, that the whole of the old grave stones have now been removed to the new burying ground, with the exception of the two which are above alluded to. The ground has been levelled and sown with grass, and a marble slab affixed on the wall of the church, records the use to which it was

great distance all others that I have any where seen. It is in shape an oblong square, divided by a regular succession of avenues, crossing each other at right angles and skirted by rows of Lombardy poplars. The divisions which are thus formed are subdivided into spaces sufficient for family burying places, which are surrounded by a neat wooden railing painted white. There is scarcely a grave which has not a monument of one kind or other, and with the exception of those transferred from the old burying ground, they are almost universally of white or green marble. Some of those of white marble were executed in Italy; the green marble is found in abundance about two miles off, and is thought by some to bear a close resemblance to the Verd Antique. The monuments consist of obelisks, tables, and upright slabs at the head and foot of the grave; the obelisks are ranged in the centre of the principal subdivisions, in parallel rows, and at right angles to each other. The inscriptions which are cut on the white marble are generally painted black, those on the green are gilt and have a very rich effect.

While the monuments in the old burying ground seem devoted to ruin, those in the new one although accessible to every passenger are treated

formerly appropriated. I am afraid that the good taste which dictated the exception in favour of these supposed memorials of King Charles' judges, will not long avail them, if as I suppose the stones are left altogether without protection. (1822)

with the most scrupulous respect. A neat fence surrounds the cemetery but openings are left at regular intervals, from which numerous foot walks cross the ground. The soil is composed of a light sand, and shoots from the poplars are springing up so numerously that they threaten to overrun it. Except the slight wooden railing there is no kind of fence around the graves; they are altogether free from those unsightly cages of cast iron by which our burying grounds in Glasgow are disfigured,[6] and the enclosures are not defaced by those quaint emblems of mortality and grief, which so often with us betray the bad taste of the proprietors. A becoming respect is shown to the memory of the departed; and an air of impressive solemnity pervades the whole enclosure, which is not counteracted by any of those lugubrious and not unfrequently ludicrous allegorical devices, and misapplied quotations from scripture, which meet us at every step in our more ancient repositories of the dead. I have visited every shrine in Westminster Abbey, and have heard the marble-hearted verger dole out, in monotonous cadence, the dreary catalogue of names which are entombed and commemorated there; the damp of the long drawn aisles chilled me to the heart, and I trod upon the ashes of Monarchs, Barons, and Crusading Knights,

[6] The Medical School connected with Yale College, is under a bond to the State Legislature that no bodies shall be taken from the New Haven burying ground, for anatomical purposes.

whose sculptured figures, scattered around, were covered with the mutilations and dust of many generations; yet I doubt whether sympathy with my kindred dust were as strongly excited there, as in the burying ground at New Haven. It seems, as if the walls of the Gothic Cathedral had been intended to commemorate, that the departed were the great and the honourable of the earth, rather than that the great and the honourable as well as the lowly and obscure are doomed to be the prey of the spoiler. It comes more closely home to my feelings and circumstances, to read on the tablets of the more humble burying ground—

> "Here rests his head upon a lap of earth,
> A youth, to fortune and to fame unknown."

It shows good sense and right feeling, that this cemetery is left open to the foot of the fortuitous passenger;—levity may here be taught to reflect, inconsiderate youth to ponder the path which is before him, and perchance he who has been reft of those who were the dearest companions of his earthly pilgrimage, may be soothed by being reminded that a few light-winged years, at most, are all that intervene between him and the world of disembodied spirits. Happy for him and them if they "die the death of the righteous," that their latter end may be like his.

Were I to venture a criticism upon this burying

ground, I should say that it is of too unvarying a level, the arrangement too precisely angular, and the numerous poplars too stiff and formal;—where there is so much to admire however it is unreasonable to search minutely for deficiencies, and no one can walk through it without the spontaneous acknowledgment, that it is highly creditable to the taste and the feelings of the inhabitants of New Haven.

It has been my lot to make one in the ranks of a funeral procession, which followed to this ground the remains of an amiable young man, cut short in the morning of his days and the full bloom of health, by a sudden and afflicting accident.

The company which assembled to this funeral was of both sexes and very numerous; none however wore mourning, except those who were closely related to the family. Special invitations to a funeral are unknown; all are expected to be present who feel any interest in the family of the deceased. When all were within doors who could be conveniently admitted, a clergyman offered up a pretty long and very impressive prayer; after which the funeral procession was arranged. The deceased was at the period of his death a student of Yale College, and his late class-fellows with crape upon their hats and arms walked first in order. The Professors followed them. Next came the Body, drawn on a small car or hearse, and attended by six students as pall bearers. The coffin

was of plain mahogany; the upper part of the lid hinged, and bearing a silvered plate inscribed with the initials and the age of the deceased. The family followed the body in a coach. To them succeeded the other relatives in coaches and gigs; then a few individuals on foot who were in habits of particular intimacy with the family; the procession was closed by a multitude walking two and two, and a promiscuous attendance on the side walks who did not link themselves to the ranks.

On arriving at the burying ground, all left their carriages. The father and mother, brothers and sisters, of the departed youth, stood at the upper end of the grave, the clergyman and the near relatives beside them, and the pall bearers lowered the coffin into its narrow abode. After a little earth had been thrown in, the clergyman, addressing himself to the surrounding company, thanked them in the name of the family for the tokens of sympathy which the melancholy event had drawn from them, and concluded by a short but solemn address on the subjects of Death and Eternity. During the clergyman's address all stood uncovered and profoundly attentive, the relations then returned to their carriages, and the rest of the assembly dispersed.

The attendance of the Professors and students on this occasion, arose from the peculiar circumstances of the event; in other respects the funeral was conducted according to customary form.

Education, which prevails much more universally throughout the New England States than in any other portion of the Union, and is frequently accompanied with religious instruction, has given to the natives a very decided cast of national character, resembling in many respects that for which the Scots among Europeans have long been distinguished. The kind of education also in the two countries is remarkably similar; it is more general than accurate, and more useful than elegant; imparted by means of district or parochial schools, and in this country almost entirely without expense to those who receive it.

The characteristics of a New Englander are intelligence, sobriety, enterprise, perseverance; and when he finds his range at home too limited to admit of a sufficiently successful application of these qualities, he betakes himself to distant regions, and traverses one State after another, till he finds some nook in which he can establish himself with advantage.

In the Southern and Western States many of the most successful merchants, the most industrious farmers, the most money-making land speculators, are natives of New England; and scarcely is there a station in society or a mode of obtaining a livelihood, in which there will not be found a full proportion of them. If you meet a waggon in some remote country road with a cheerful looking family, and a tall slender figure whistling along with an

axe over his shoulder—it is a Yankee[7] backwoodsman, on his march for the wilderness of Illinois or Tennessee, where he will build a log house, clear a few acres of land, sell the whole at a profit to the next comer, and start with the waggon a second time, to penetrate some hundreds of miles farther into the woods, and repeat the process. If you see at the turnpike gate of a country town a light carriage, resembling a British taxed cart, built up all round with a pile of assorted packing boxes and trunks—it is the travelling store of a New England pedlar, who is marketing his wares, *stopping*, or selling, or buying, as he and his customers can agree about it, *guessing* away with every one he meets, but turning all to good account in the end. In all those bye ways of getting on in the world, for which America affords unexampled facilities, none are found to succeed like the natives of New England.

The consequence of this adventurous spirit is, that they enjoy along with their prosperity a considerable share of the envy and ill will which successful rivalry generally excites. Perhaps there are instances in which cunning, rather than hon-

[7] The term Yankee which we apply indiscriminately, as a nickname, to all the natives of America, is here restricted in its application to the natives of the New England States, who in general consider it as by no means a reproachful appellation. I have seen an advertisement, in a Baltimore Newspaper, commencing, "A YANKEE recently arrived in Baltimore wishes a situation," &c.

esty, has characterized their enterprises; but among so many adventurers it is not surprising that some should be unprincipled, and of course a well educated and ingenious rogue has a fearful advantage over ignorant and stupid ones. From whatever cause it may have arisen, it is certain that in the south there is a strong prejudice against them; and it is very customary there to say many hard things of the Yankees, which are true only of a small number, and those the very worst of them.

The New England character is very favourably exhibited in New Haven, for the simplicity and sincerity of the ancient Puritans may be still seen strongly marked in their descendants. Plain and frugal in their domestic habits, they exhibit little of that artificial polish which, like varnish, frequently disguises very worthless materials; and a stranger is not mortified by professions without services, and show without substance. At some of their homely but pleasant evening parties, I have found myself invested with no small degree of temporary importance; for whoever can talk from personal knowledge of Loch Katrine, the Troshachs, and Stirling Castle, or the other classic spots immortalized in Scott's Poems and the "Tales of my Landlord," is listened to by old and young with open-mouthed attention, and his national vanity may almost lead him to imagine that he is for the time the accredited representative of "the Great Unknown." Should he ask the transatlantic ad-

mirers of the Antiquary and Rob Roy, to translate to him some of the wise *saws* of Edie Ochiltree and Bailie Jarvie,[8] which they quote with such rapture, he cannot fail to be amused at the good humoured simplicity with which they take Scotish wit upon trust, and contrive to be amused with what they do not half understand.

The district schools of Connecticut are supported by what is termed the School Fund, whose origin was as follows. By the charter of Charles the Second, the colony of Connecticut extended completely across the continent to the Pacific ocean, within the parallels of latitude which now bound it; of course it included a large portion of the present States of Pennsylvania and Ohio. About ten years after the revolution, the claim to the portion of Pennsylvania was by compromise abandoned, but a vast tract beyond the limits of that State was sold by Connecticut, and the proceeds 1,200,000 dollars, £270,000 sterling, for ever appropriated to the support of free schools within the State. This fund has increased to about 1,700,000 dollars, £382,500 sterling, the

[8] Incorporated trades are altogether unknown here, and there are no Deacons among them but those of the congregational churches, who are always designated, even in the ordinary affairs of life, by their official title; the consequence is, that the Bailie's "father the Deacon, honest man!" in place of being regarded as president of the craft of weavers, is supposed to have been a very staid and demure elder of the venerable Kirk, and of course a very pious and very worthy man, which readily accounts for the Bailie's respect for his

annual income of which, upwards of 80,000 dollars, above £18,000 sterling, is distributed among a population of about 270,000 persons. This presents, as was remarked to me, the singular spectacle of a larger sum of money being paid out of the public treasury for the education of the people, than all the amount that is received by it in taxes and contributions of every kind;—a state of things certainly no where else ever known in the world.

In the schools which are thus established, every citizen has a legal claim to have his children educated, and all are compellable by law to send them. In most districts however, the funds are not sufficient to support the schools for more than a half or two thirds of the year; in many of them the school is shut when the fund is exhausted, in others the inhabitants assess themselves to support it during the interval. English, writing, accounts, and occasionally a little mathematics, are the branches taught, and I believe that it is next to impossible to discover in the State a white native who cannot read and write.[9]

memory. Some of the deacons of our Trades' House would, I suspect, find themselves rather awkwardly beset, if called upon to exchange situations and duties with those of a similar title in New Haven.

[9] The early settlers of Connecticut showed a zeal for the instruction of the rising generation, equally remarkable and honourable. "In the year 1677, to render the existing law respecting schools

It is cause of regret that this large sum of money is entirely absorbed by these elementary schools, and that no part of it is devoted to literary institutions of a higher order. A very unaccountable but general prejudice prevails against any such appropriation, and Yale College, in many respects the first in the Union, and an honour to the country, is left to rely entirely on its own resources, while it is in the power of the people greatly to augment its efficiency and prosperity by a comparatively trifling donation from this ample fund.

There is a Grammar School in New Haven, endowed from a legacy by one of the Governors of the State named Hopkins, in which youths are prepared for college, and which enjoys a respectable reputation; there are also two other seminaries of a superior kind to the district schools. Of the minor schools the teachers of about three-

more effectual, it was enacted 'that every town by the said law ordered to keep a school, that shall neglect the same three months in the year, shall forfeit Five Pounds for every defect.'" In the year 1690 an additional statute was passed, "which after reciting in the preamble that there were still 'persons unable to read the English tongue, and thereby incapable to read the holy word of God, or the good laws of this colony,' among other provisions contains the following; 'that the grand jurymen in each town, do once in a year, at least, visit each family they suspect to neglect this order, [to teach their children and servants to 'read distinctly the English tongue'] and satisfy themselves whether all children under age, and servants in such suspected families can read the English tongue, or

fourths are females, according to the ancient English custom. Even the poor blacks participate in the prevalent taste for education, for there are two schools in New Haven appropriated to them. Many of them, I am assured, are able to read, write, and keep accounts, and are in their own sphere of life, useful and respectable members of society.[10]

Yale College, which completes the provision made for education in Connecticut, is too important to be passed over with a slight notice, and shall form the subject of a separate communication.

The inhabitants of the eastern district of the Union have been known from the earliest periods of their history as a religious people. In the wilds of America they sought that liberty of conscience, and of worship, which was refused them at home; and although it is true, that they did not always concede to others, the toleration which they them-

be in a good procedure to learn the same or not; and if they find any such children and servants not taught, as their years are capable of, they shall return the names of the parents or masters of the said children or servants to the next county court,' &c. The penalty is twenty shillings 'for each child or servant whose teaching is or shall be neglected, contrary to this order.'" *Vide North American Review, No. XXXIX. pp.* 382, 3. in an article containing much interesting information relative to the state of education in Connecticut.

[10] In building Long Wharf, two black men were contractors for executing a considerable part of the work, where the water is 16 feet deep. *Vide Pres. Dwight's Statistical Account of New Haven.*

selves claimed, this inconsistency between principle and practice was, unfortunately, common to the early reformers of almost every nation. Popery had so long exercised its torpedo influence upon the thinking faculties of man, that it was only by slow degrees that those who found its principles intolerable in some of their applications, were brought to see them unjust, and therefore inexpedient, in all. A good deal there is in the conduct of the early settlers, of which it would be vain to attempt a justification; but, taking them as a body, they were distinguished above most men then living, by their attachment to pure doctrine and upright practice. This purity of doctrine, as has been already noticed, has been in part of the country lost in Socinianism; but the State of Connecticut is, as yet, free from this contamination. There are in New Haven seven places of public worship; the College chapel, in which there is stated service, three Congregational, one Episcopalian, one Methodist,[11] and one Baptist chapel. The Episcopalian congregation was formed in 1755, that of the Methodists in 1807. The Episcopalians have here a flourishing theological academy.

The Congregational form of church government, which prevails so universally in this part

[11] This Methodist chapel was blown down during a tremendous hurricane on the 21st of September 1821, but was immediately rebuilt.

of the country is of a peculiar kind, and partakes very considerably of the presbyterian character. The following sketch of its origin and features, I extract from a manuscript account, politely drawn up for me by a gentleman of this State.

In 1708 an assembly of clerical and lay delegates, convened at Saybrook[12] in Connecticut by order of the colonial government, drew up articles of doctrine and an ecclesiastical system which was thereafter denominated the 'Saybrook Platform.' This standard being sanctioned by the colonial legislature, became in effect the established form of religion. Most of the churches and congregations voluntarily adopted it; none however were

[12] This town is connected with a very remarkable incident in English History; it is the place to which Oliver Cromwell would have emigrated, when yet a private country gentleman, had not Charles 1st interfered to prevent him. I quote the following from the Quarterly Review.

"Lord Brooke, Lord Say and Sele, and his sons, Pym, and other distinguished men of the same sentiments, were about to remove to a settlement in New England, where the name of Saybrook, in honour of the two noble leaders, had already been given to a township in which they were expected. Eight vessels with emigrants on board were ready to sail from the Thames, when the King by an order of Council forbade their departure, and compelled the intended passengers to come on shore; fatally for himself, for among those passengers Haslerigge, and Hampden, and Cromwell, with all his family had actually embarked. There are few facts in History which have so much the appearance of fatality as this." *Quarterly Review, Vol. XXV. p.* 228.

compelled, and some have not come under it even to this day. The system of doctrine was substantially that of the Savoy Confession; but churches were allowed to come in either under that, or the Westminster Confession, or the *doctrinal* articles of the Church of England.

In conformity with this Platform was formed the *Consociation;* which is an assembly of ministers and lay delegates from churches within a particular geographical extent, usually a county or half county; it is composed of about equal numbers of clergymen and laymen, which last are invariably church members. This body is a judicatory for the trial of all ecclesiastical questions, and its decision is final; parties are often heard by counsel before it, as in a civil court.

Superior to the Consociation are the *Associations.* These consist of ministers only, and are of two kinds. The general State Association, which meets annually, is the supreme church court; and is composed of delegates from local Associations, for counties and half counties, which meet more frequently. In the local Associations was formerly invested, by law, the power of examining and licensing preachers, and regulating every thing connected therewith; and this still continues in practice, though no longer enjoined by statute. It must be remarked however that in other respects the legislative power both of the general and local Associations is only that of advising; they have no

power to compel obedience, but their advice is almost invariably respected.

The General Association of the State sends delegates to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church of the United States, which meets annually in Philadelphia, and which in its turn sends delegates to the General Association. These delegates are admitted to sit by mutual courtesy, for the Association does not acknowledge the absolute legislative authority of the General Assembly, nor does the Assembly regard the Association as having by right a voice in its councils. The General Assembly is however consulted by the General Association and its advice is generally respected.

Besides the local Associations, *Councils* exist, composed of ministers and lay delegates, which are invited by churches to settle their ministers, and to assist in accommodating any differences that may occur between congregations and their pastors; preachers who have been previously licensed by the local Associations, are re-examined by a Council before ordination over any particular church.

These are the principal features of the ecclesiastical system of the State. The congregations are individually formed on the independent model; having no ruling elders, nor any office-bearers but the Pastor and Deacons. The deacons manage the temporal concerns of the church, and visit and relieve the poor. When a member offends, his conduct must be reported to the whole church be-

fore he can be excluded from its communion. The pastors of the congregational churches in New Haven have salaries of from 1000 to 1200 Dollars; £225, to £270 sterling.

There are in the New England States not under 1000 churches upon the congregational model. This includes however those of Unitarian principles, of which there are probably about 50 in all; most of these are to be found in the western part of Massachusetts, a few in Vermont and New Hampshire, and perhaps in Rhode Island, although in this last State the Baptists predominate.

In Connecticut the observance of the Sabbath is not as with us, from midnight to midnight, but according to the ancient Jewish system, from sunset to sunset;—that is they commence its observance at sunset on Saturday, and continue it till sunset on Sunday. In conformity with this principle, the stores are shut on Saturday evening at twilight and business is suspended; the churches are not opened for worship, at least at present, but the inhabitants in general confine themselves to their houses, and spend the evening in family and private devotion. After sunset on Sabbath they consider themselves at liberty to engage in secular matters, but the stores are not opened, and the evening is usually spent with quietness and decorum.

With the exercises of the Saturday evening which this system requires, there could be no difficulty in harmonizing; but my mind could not so easily rid

itself of former sentiments and feelings with regard to the evening of the Sabbath. In the family with whom I am at present a guest, the Sabbath exercises were concluded immediately after tea, by my host's reading a chapter and engaging in prayer. He then invited me to accompany him to visit a worthy Deacon's family in the neighbourhood; to which I without hesitation agreed, willing to see and know all that I could of their Sabbath occupations. There we found a merry groupe of young people, and it was not without considerable surprise, that I heard the proposal made soon after we entered that one of the young ladies should sing '*Doun the burn Davie.*' In reply to this suggestion I told them that, though I did not wish to prescribe to them the manner in which they should spend the Sabbath evening, yet I could not so suddenly become a convert to their system, and that therefore if they intended to sing songs, I should take the liberty of withdrawing. They argued against what were considered my educational prejudices, but agreed to sing a hymn in place of a song, and spend the rest of the evening in conversation.[13]

We cannot, perhaps, incontrovertibly prove which system of reckoning holy time prevailed in apostolic times; but it is certainly more likely to secure the

[13] I have reason to suspect that in proposing the song on the occasion alluded to, the good people only meant to show me the extent of their liberty on the Sabbath evening, and that had I not been present it would not have been thought of. A New Haven gentle-

sanctification of the Christian Sabbath, that after a night of stillness and repose, one entire day from morning to night should be devoted to its duties, than that it should be made up of a fragment of one day, and three quarters of the next. The man of business cannot dismiss worldly concerns from his mind by the mere locking of his warehouse door; and, however conscientious in the discharge of what he may consider his duty, he cannot be so well disposed for meditation, as when he rises to begin a day on which no secular employment is permitted to intrude. Even here, the Episcopalians and the Methodists dissent from the prevailing system, and the consequence is that many avail themselves of this difference of opinion, and neither observe the one evening nor the other. Throughout this State travelling on the Sabbath is strictly prohibited, and the prohibition rigorously enforced; the Mail of the United States is the only privileged conveyance, for the laws of the Federal government, by which it is appointed, are not subject to the control of the local legislature; but neither on foot, on horseback, nor in a private carriage, is it possible for a traveller to escape the Argus eyes of the civil officers.

The Sermons which I have heard in New Haven, the appearance of the congregations, and other cir-

man, who had an opportunity of reading the manuscript of this letter, wrote with a pencil opposite to this portion of it—"*I am persuaded a very uncommon occurrence—I never met with it. Calls are made among intimate friends, but rarely is there jollity or mirth.*"

cumstances, give me reason to think well of the state of religion here.

In the College chapel I heard a judicious discourse on the evidence which is sufficient to establish the truth of a miracle. The Professor successfully combated the doctrine of Hume on this subject, and proved the validity of the testimony which we possess, respecting the miracles that are recorded in Scripture. In one of the congregational churches, I heard that text again illustrated which had formed the subject of one of the sermons that I heard in Boston, Pilate's question "What is truth?" On this occasion, however, the Preacher treated his subject in the first place as a question of pure metaphysics, and illustrated it in a most luminous manner. I do not recollect having heard on any occasion from the pulpit, a more masterly exhibition of vigorous thinking and close reasoning, or language more accurate and appropriate. It was not however a mere metaphysical lecture, for the whole train of argument was made subservient to the illustration of the great gospel scheme of salvation. The preacher demonstrated that every attempt to overthrow the economy of salvation through Christ Jesus, was in fact beating the air, and fighting against God. Immediately before the sermon, banns of marriage were proclaimed with a loud voice from the desk; I have not in America been present on any other occasion when this was done.

At the conclusion of the afternoon's worship, I saw in one of the churches a Sabbath School, consisting of the young persons belonging to the congregation. This was conducted more upon the plan of the Scotish Sabbath Schools than any which I have hitherto seen here, for it was exclusively devoted to religious instruction; it was obviously however a recent attempt, and not matured in the execution. There was a teacher to about every dozen of children, who heard them repeat whatever passage they had voluntarily prepared; there was no system of regular and prescribed exercise, in which they could all join, nor did I hear any attempt made at illustration by parallel passages. A beginning however has been made, and a little experience will soon enable them to improve upon the mode of conducting them.

In one of the congregational churches they have recently introduced the organ, as an auxiliary in Psalmody; but a special stipulation has been made by the more aged and less enthusiastic in harmonics, that no *voluntary* is ever to break in upon the solemnity of worship, or mar its intellectual character; the instrument is allowed to lead and harmonize the voices of the congregation, but to do nothing more.

LETTER V.

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YALE COLLEGE — HISTORY — GOVERNMENT — PROFESSORS — REQUISITES FOR ADMISSION—COURSE OF STUDY—DEGREES—'COMMENCEMENT' — PRIZES — MEDICAL DEPARTMENT — COLLEGE DISCIPLINE — HOURS OF STUDY — EXPENSE OF EDUCATION—LITERARY SOCIETIES—LIBRARY—PHILOSOPHICAL APPARATUS — CABINET OF MINERALS — COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND SCOTISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

New Haven, August, 1818.

THE buildings of Yale College make a conspicuous appearance when entering the town from the eastward, and the effect is considerably heightened by three churches, which stand at a little distance in front in a parallel line. The ground between the College and the churches is neatly divided and enclosed, and ornamented with trees.

The College buildings are seven in number;[1] five ranging with each other in front, and two behind. Three of those in front are plain but uniform erections of brick, four stories high, containing apartments for the students. A chapel with a spire, and a Lyceum with a belfry, occupy the intervals.

[1] An eighth was erected in 1821. It is exactly uniform to the three larger buildings, and is a continuation of the front line, with space left vacant for a new Lyceum or some corresponding edifice.

Yale College was established at Saybrook in the year 1700,[2] and was incorporated by the colonial legislature in 1701. In 1718 it was removed to New Haven. It was originally intended only for the education of young men for the ministry, but as it gathered strength, from individual liberality and public patronage, the range of its studies was gradually extended, until it now embraces the more essential parts of a complete literary, scientific, and medical education.

The College received its name in commemoration of the bounty of the Hon. Elihu Yale, a son of one of the early settlers; who went to England in early life, thence to India, where he received the appointment of Governor of Madras, and afterwards on returning to England was elected Governor of the East India Company. From him the infant institution received donations at various times to the amount of £500 sterling, and a short time before his death he directed another benefaction to the same amount to be transmitted, but which unfortunately was never received.

Among its early benefactors was the celebrated Dean Berkely, who, having been frustrated in his efforts to establish a College in the island of Bermuda, presented to this institution a farm which

[2] President Dwight's Travels contain, in Letters 16th and 17th, a pretty copious account of Yale College. The reader has here less historical detail but a much more circumstantial view of discipline and study, the whole of which I have derived from official sources.

he had purchased in Rhode Island, and afterwards transmitted to it from England a very valuable collection of books. Sir Isaac Newton, and many other distinguished men presented their works to the library.

Although founded under the sanction of the legislature, and partially endowed by it, the College was for a long time more indebted to individual than to state patronage; for the first ninety years of its existence, the whole amount bestowed by the local legislature, did not much exceed £4500 sterling[3]. When the Federal government however was consolidated, the debts of the individual States were assumed by Congress, and a considerable amount of uncollected arrears of war taxes due to the State, was left at its disposal. In 1792 part of these debts was granted to Yale College, and in 1796 the grant, after a severe struggle to oppose it, was enlarged. By the very judicious management of those who collected the arrears, about 60,000 dollars were realized from them; £13,500 sterling which imparted to the College a degree of vigour which it had not hitherto known, and to this day nearly the whole of its funded income arises from this source.

The affairs of Yale College are under the superintendence of a board of Trustees, consisting of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the

[3] Vide North American Review, No. XXXIX. p. 386.

State, six of the Counsellors,[4] and eleven Clergymen. The Faculty consists of a President, nine Professors, four Medical Examiners, and six Tutors.[5] The academical studies extend to Literature, experimental and moral philosophy and theology; the medical department embraces a course of medical and surgical instruction, complete in all its parts.

[4] A new constitution has been adopted in Connecticut since the date of this letter, under which the Counsellors have now the title of Senators.

[5] The following is a list of the Faculty in November 1820.

JEREMIAH DAY, D. D., LL. D., President.

Dr. Æneas Monson, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine.

Dr. Nathan Smith, Professor of the theory and practice of Physic and Surgery.

Benjamin Silliman, Professor of Chemistry, Pharmacy, Mineralogy and Geology.

James L. Kingsley, Professor of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin Languages.

Dr. Eli Ives, Professor of Materia Medica and Botany, and Lecturer on the diseases of Children.

Dr. Jonathan Knight, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and Lecturer on Obstetrics.

Rev. Eleazar T. Fitch, Professor of Divinity.

Rev. Chauncey A. Goodrich, Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory.

Alexander M. Fisher, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Dr. Mason F. Cogswell, Dr. Thomas Hubbard, Dr. Thomas Miner, Dr. Warren Fowler, Medical Examiners.

Horace Hooker, Rufus Woodward, William C. Fowler, Edward Bull, Lyman Coleman, Tutors.

[Since the preceding lines were written, Professor Fisher has found an untimely grave. He was one of about fifty persons who perished in the wreck of the Albion of New York, in the bay of

At Yale College the undergraduates during the course of four years are termed, as at Harvard and the other American Colleges, successively Freshmen, Sophomores, Junior, and Senior, Sophisters. It is customary for those graduates who wish to prosecute their studies more fully, to avail themselves of the lectures for several additional years; while they do so they are subject, in common

Kinsale, Ireland, on the morning of the 22d April 1822. "The extinction," as a biographer has said, "of genius, of virtue, and of bright hopes!"

Mr. Fisher was born at Franklin, Massachusetts, in 1794. In 1809 at the age of 15 he entered Yale College, where in 1813 he received a Bachelor's degree and finished the course with the highest reputation. After spending some time at the Theological Academy at Andover, he returned to Yale College in 1815, in consequence of being appointed Tutor; in 1817 he was nominated Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and in 1819 sole Professor of the same branches. The vigour of his mind, the extent of his acquirements, and his unwearied industry, enabled him to discharge his professional duties with a success, which excited the most lively satisfaction in his brother Professors; which bade fair to raise the reputation of the College, as a school for the exact sciences, to a higher rank than any American seminary has yet attained, and which would doubtless have drawn forth the homage of admiration from the older institutions of Europe.

To me as an individual the destruction of the Albion, and the death of Professor Fisher, were both events of most painful interest. The Albion was the vessel in which I returned to my native country; she was then newly launched, and Captain Williams who was lost in her, had been promoted from an older of the packet vessels to her command. We embarked on the tenth of March, and by noon on the thirtieth we were walking the streets of Liverpool. With Mr. Fisher I had become acquainted at New Haven, and had been particularly gratified by his society and conversation. Calling at his

with the others, to the more essential rules of College discipline.

For admission to the Freshman class, it is requisite that the candidate should have completed his fourteenth year, and he must undergo examination upon Adam's Latin Grammar, Clarke's Intro-

apartments in the college, one morning after breakfast, I found him with a duodecimo bible upon the table before him; he had shut it as I entered, and its leaves betokened that it was the subject of frequent study. He enquired particularly about the state of religion in Glasgow, about our benevolent institutions, our Bible, and Missionary Societies; about our clergymen, the support which they gave to such institutions, the style of their preaching, and their theological reputation. He conducted me through several of the apartments of the college; the library, the cabinet of minerals, and the room containing the philosophical apparatus. Long will I cherish the remembrance of that interview and conversation. Early in 1822 I was apprized of his intention of visiting this country, and informed that he would probably be in Glasgow about the month of May. I hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing him for a time the inmate of my own family, and fondly anticipated the intellectual feast which his conversation would afford. But alas! ere May arrived, the Albion was a wreck, and poor Fisher a corpse engulphed in the ocean! "Whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever: nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it; and God doeth it that men should fear before him."

Some of the fruits of Mr. Fisher's early talents have been preserved in periodical Journals. He contributed under the signature of 'Nov. Anglus' *Solutions of various questions* in the 5th volume of the 'Mathematical Repository, edited by Thomas Leybourn, of the Royal Military Academy.' He is author under the signature of 'X' of various *Solutions of mathematical questions* in the American Monthly Magazine, begun at New York in 1817; one of these is said to be particularly deserving of notice, *On the most advantageous position of the sail of a wind mill, when the ratio of the velocities of the sail and wind is given.* In the 4th Volume of the 'Memoirs of the Ameri-

duction to the making of Latin, Goodrich's Greek Grammar, and Prosody, Cicero's Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, Dalzel's Analecta Græca Minora, and the Greek Testament. Applicants for the more advanced classes must have a corresponding increase of age, and undergo examination upon

can Academy of arts and sciences,' are published his *Observations on the Comet of* 1819, *and calculation of its orbit;* this paper was the result of the first actual observations on a heavenly body that he had ever made. To Professor Silliman's 'Journal of Science,' he furnished the following papers:—In Vol. I. *Essay on Musical Temperament*, written when he was about twenty-one years of age, and which called forth from Mr. John Farey, Senior, London, in an essay on *Musical Intervals*, in Vol. 2d of the same journal, the following observation; "I have before met with nothing like it, in point of utility, in an attentive perusal of nearly every thing which has been printed in the English language on the subject"—In Vol. III. *Remarks on Dr. Enfield's Institutes of Natural Philosophy;* a paper exhibiting his extensive and familiar acquaintance with mathematical and philosophical writers. *On some recent improvements in the construction of the Printing Press*, with a mathematical investigation of its theory and powers. In Vol. V. *On Maxima and Minima of Functions of two variable quantities;* written in part soon after he graduated.

His brother Professor Mr. Kingsley, in a biographical sketch, which has furnished me with some of the above particulars, says that Mr. Fisher's visit to Europe was undertaken "not so much for the sake of making new acquisitions in science—for the knowledge of European philosophers is found in their books—as to visit the places of public instruction, and examine by actual inspection the mode of communicating knowledge in the foreign universities; to form an acquaintance with men who were distinguished in his own department, and to obtain such information as might enable him more fully to aid, in raising the scientific character of his country, and in promoting the usefulness and prosperity of this college." Professor Silliman in his Obituary adds—"Mr. Fisher was the most extraor-

all the previous customary course of study. Each individual, on entering, is required to produce certificates of good moral character, and to subscribe a solemn engagement to be obedient in every respect to the laws of the College. The total number of Academical students and resident graduates is at present 283.[6]

The three younger classes are each divided

dinary man of his years whom I have ever known.—To his wonderful scientific attainments, he added the finish of classical and polite literature, derived from the best ancient as well as modern sources; his elegant taste embraced the fine arts in their extent and variety, and he was satisfied with nothing, even in the decorum and accommodations of private life, which was not adapted to the same elevated standard." His Parents still survive at the place of his nativity. One also lives with whom, had he been spared to return, he was soon to have entered upon the most endearing of earthly relations!

" There is a tear for all that die,
A mourner o'er the humblest grave—"

But how wide is the circle of mourners, when they are laid low, who were opening on a career of early and extensive usefulness, who seemed singularly marked out and qualified to enlarge the boundaries of science, and to exalt the intellectual character of a rapidly rising nation!

The Mathematical chair is now filled by the Rev. Matthew R. Dutton.]

[6] At the date of this letter, Yale College was in number of students somewhat under Harvard; since that period however, it has got above the other by about twenty or thirty. In November 1820 its catalogue exhibited the following summary:—

Resident graduates,	31
Academical students,	319
Medical students,	62
Total,	412

into two parts, to each of which a Tutor is appointed, who assists the Professors in instructing and examining the students; the students of the fourth year, are under the more immediate superintendence of the President and Professors. The three younger classes attend three public recitations or lectures a day, excepting on Wednesday and Saturday, when they have only two. The senior class recites once a day to the President. At every lecture the students are minutely examined on the subject of the preceding one.

The annual 'Commencement' is on the second Wednesday of September, and there are in the year three terms, at the close of each of which is a short vacation.

The following is an abstract of the Academical course:

FRESHMEN. *First Term*—Livy begun, Adam's Roman Antiquities, Webber's Arithmetic, Murray's English Grammar. *Second Term*—Livy's first five books finished, Analecta Græca Majora, the historical parts, Day's Algebra. *Third Term*—Analecta Græca Majora continued, Morse's Geography, vol. 1st, Irving on Composition, Murray's Grammar reviewed.

In addition to these recitations, the Freshmen attend the lectures of the Professor of Languages, and the private exercises and lectures of the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. They present

in writing, English translations from Latin authors, and specimens of Latin composition.

SOPHOMORES. *First Term*—Morse's Geography, vol. 2d, Playfair's Euclid begun, Horace begun. *Second Term*—Playfair's Euclid finished, Horace finished, Day's Mathematics, parts 2d, and 3d, Cicero de Officiis begun. *Third Term*—Homer's Iliad, Day's Mathematics, part 4th, Conic Sections and Spherical Geometry, Blair's Lectures, vol. 1st, Cicero de Officiis, de Senectute, et de Amicitia finished.

The Sophomores continue to attend the Professor of Languages, and the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. They exhibit specimens of English and Latin Composition, and engage in forensic disputations in presence of their instructors. In connexion with the branches of Mathematics, which are specified, they study Mensuration, Surveying, and Navigation.

JUNIOR SOPHISTERS. *First Term*—Spherical Trigonometry, Analecta Græca Majora continued, Enfield's Philosophy begun, Cicero de Oratore begun. *Second Term*—Analecta Græca Majora, vol. 1st finished, Enfield's Philosophy continued, Cicero de Oratore continued, Tacitus, omitting the Annals. *Third Term*—Enfield's Astronomy, Tytler's General History, Vince's Fluxions, Greek, or Hebrew, at the option of the Student.

The Professor of Languages, and the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, continue their lectures.

The students exhibit specimens of English Composition. Forensic disputations are continued twice a week before the instructors. They attend a course of lectures on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Mathematics.

SENIOR SOPHISTERS. *First Term*—Blair's Lectures, vol. 2d, Hedge's Logic, Locke's Essays, Paley's Natural Theology. *Second Term*—Paley's Natural Theology, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind. *Third Term*—Paley's Moral Philosophy.

The Professor of Languages, and the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory conclude their lectures. The students continue forensic disputations, and attend the lectures on Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, and Theology.

The Professor of Divinity delivers a lecture on Theology in the College chapel, each Sabbath in term time, completing a course in four years; he also occasionally discourses privately to the senior class.[7]

The English authors which have been mentioned, are studied chiefly as appropriate text books upon

[7] A theological school has recently been founded, which is in connexion with the College, and will probably be hereafter incorporated with it. The Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor has been appointed Professor of Didactic Theology, and the students receive instructions from the academical Professors in the Languages, Rhetoric, and Biblical Criticism. A school of Law is projected, and will probably be soon brought into operation.

which the Professor discourses; and their opinions are of course either enforced or controverted, as they may or may not agree with those of the lecturer. In either case they afford a groundwork for appropriate discussion and illustration; they may also advantageously direct the young enquirer in his private researches, and afford him the means of trying the vigour of his own mind. In the hands of an unskilful lecturer, a good text book is certainly an important advantage; but to one of more shining talents, a faulty manual will occasion comparatively little inconvenience.

From the preceding sketch it will be apparent that the attention of the student is at no period of the course concentrated upon any particular branch of science or literature, to the comparative exclusion of all the rest. For this reason it is not likely that Yale will produce many 'wranglers' in mathematics, to surpass those of Cambridge, or giants in Greek Literature, to wrest the palm from those of Oxford; but it is very probable that it will send forth a greater proportion of men whose minds are steadily trained to order and activity, and stored with those elements of knowledge which are available in almost every situation, and which may be said to ensure to their possessor, a reasonable degree of success in any train of thinking or research to which, by his inclination, or the exigencies of his future life, he may be led. It is a remark of Cicero's, that

no teacher can communicate to his pupil the completely detailed application of his peculiar art, but after the learner has thoroughly mastered its general principles, he may be safely left to prosecute by himself the farther investigation. The accuracy of this principle has been no where more successfully illustrated, than in the history of Scotland. Dr. Johnson, whose habits and predilections were entirely in favour of the English system of University education, compared learning in Scotland to "bread in a besieged town, where every one gets a mouthful, but nobody a bellyful;" but every candid observer knows, that this universal diffusion of moderate education has given a peculiar superiority to the Scotish national character; —that much more good in the aggregate has resulted from it than from the other system, while moreover, there is scarcely a department of literature or philosophy, in which Scotland has not produced more than her numerical proportion of eminently great men.

In Yale College the advantages of the English and the Scotish systems of University education seem to be in a great measure combined. The scope for original discussion and elegance of illustration which lecturing affords, is connected with the more laborious and effective discipline of tutors and examination; the students are not considered as passive recipients of knowledge, but are stimulated to the active exercise of their own

powers, that they may acquire that command of them which practice alone can give, and which can become habitual only by a continued succession of efforts. Nor are the benefits of public examination unattended to; for the whole of the classes are subjected to a rigorous scrutiny, twice in each year. Each of these examinations occupies from four to six days, and those students who are found particularly deficient in the exercises of the class, are liable at the discretion of the Faculty to admonition or dismission. After the last examination of the fourth year, the faculty decide by a vote upon each student whether he shall receive a degree or not; but the previous probationary course and frequent examinations, together with the rigorous system of discipline which I have yet to detail, send away most of the laggard and defective members, and of those who are allowed to pass few are of a doubtful kind. Sympathy, however, for poverty or misfortune, and respect for moral worth, are in some cases I believe allowed to operate favourably on behalf of individuals, whose claims in an academical point of view could scarcely be sustained.

The stimulating system of prizes is partially in use. Bishop Berkely established a prize fund, which yields annually 150 dollars; this is given in premiums of 50 dollars each, £11, 5s. sterling, to the students in different classes, who pass the best examination in Latin and Greek. A few others of

inferior amount are given for specimens of Latin and English composition, and for public declamation. These premiums are bestowed privately.

The annual 'Commencement', as it is termed, is a kind of festival in New Haven, to which literary men assemble from a considerable distance around. Of the students who have completed their fourth year, a few are selected to deliver public orations on literary, philosophical, or political subjects; after which the customary degrees in Arts, and in Medicine, are conferred upon those who have passed the requisite examinations, and honorary degrees on those whom the College has selected as worthy of them, for eminence in letters, law, medicine, or theology.

I have not had an opportunity of witnessing this ceremonial at Yale College, but I have been present at that of Columbia College,[8] in New York, and I understand that they are very similar in their general features.

On this occasion the Trustees and Professors, preceded by a band of music, and followed by the students, walked in procession from the College buildings to one of the churches. The students wore black silk gowns, which are peculiar to the occasion, and a medal at the breast, the badge of two Literary Societies, with one or other of which

[8] In the month following the date of this letter;—the reader will pardon the anachronism.

all of them are connected. At the upper end of a temporary platform, near the pulpit, were seated the President and other members of the Faculty; and at the lower end, the orators of the day declaimed in succession. The band was posted in the gallery, and played during the intervals.

The opening address, or 'Salutatory' as it is termed, and the concluding one, or 'Valedictory,' are generally assigned to the two scholars who rank highest in the scale of merit; the priority of the rest is regulated on the same principle. The addresses which I heard embraced a variety of topics, a large proportion of which were political; and frequent allusions were made to Great Britain and to the recent unhappy hostilities. The composition and delivery were upon the whole respectable, in some instances highly creditable to the talent of the orators; and if some of them claimed, on behalf of their native land, a pre-eminence in arts and arms which we might hardly be disposed as yet to concede, they would be rigid censors indeed, who would criticise very severely the effusions of youthful ardour on so spirit-stirring a theme, or frown at their enthusiastic exclamation—

> "'Tis the star-spangled banner! O long may it wave,
> O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

Some of the best of the addresses however paid honourable tribute to the British national character, quoted our poets, eulogized our patriots, our

statesmen, and some of our kings; and manifested, on the part of their authors, a liberality and manliness of sentiment which would have done no discredit to maturer years.

After the 'valedictory' address, the candidates for the Baccalaureate came individually forward. The President, a venerable old man, grasping the student's hands in his, congratulated him in Latin on the termination of his College studies, put into his hand a small red volume with a few words of parting counsel and direction, withdrew the book, and presented him with his parchment diploma bound with a blue riband.

In Yale College, the topics upon which the students declaim at Commencement are selected by themselves, subject to the approbation of the Professor of Rhetoric; and the essays when composed are submitted for his revisal, before being prepared for delivery.

The Medical school which is in connexion with Yale College is of recent institution, but already bears an honourable reputation, as regards the course of study and the ability of the Professors. The lectures commence in the last week of October, and terminate in the last week of March. During the course from eighty to a hundred lectures are delivered by each Professor, on the various subjects of Anatomy and Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Materia Medica, and Botany. The students have

also admission to the academical lectures on Natural Philosophy, Mineralogy and Geology. The various branches are investigated in the most scientific manner, and the courses are fully illustrated by demonstration and experiment. The institution possesses an appropriate anatomical museum and library, and the students have also access to the library of the college. A botanic garden has been begun.

Candidates for license and a degree are regularly examined by the Professors, and a board of Physicians appointed by the Medical Society of the State. These have full authority to grant license to practise, and their recommendation secures a degree from the corporation of the College.

By far the most difficult part in the economy of a College is its discipline; particularly in such institutions as Yale, where the most of young men are withdrawn entirely from the superintendence of their friends, and collected together into one large family. The regulations however which are adopted here, seem better adapted to exercise a parental influence over the inmates, than any which have come under my observation.

Each Student on joining the college is placed, at the discretion of his parents or the Faculty, under the particular superintendence of one of the Professors or Tutors, whom he is enjoined to regard as his counsellor, and who considers himself bound to have a watchful eye over the behaviour and im-

provement of his ward; in a word to make up, so far as that is possible, the want of a father's care. The young men are considered as in a state of probation till they are matriculated, which never takes place till they have resided in College at least six months. Those whose conduct has been exemplary during this period, are then fully entered as members of the institution; but those who so pass, seldom exceed two-thirds of the class. Those who have not obtained matriculation and who show decided symptoms of insubordination, are dismissed without ceremony, and without any reason being assigned; sometimes a considerable number are thus sent away. The rest remain for farther trial, and are matriculated at various periods as their behaviour entitles them to it; in some instances it is deferred so long as for three years. In this way the disorderly are gradually weeded out, and only the more diligent and exemplary allowed to remain.

When a student after matriculation is guilty of a serious infraction of the College laws, the member of Faculty under whose particular charge he is, sends for him to his apartments, and privately gives him what is technically called his 'first admonition.' Should he again offend, he receives his 'second admonition,' and his friends are informed by letter of his misconduct. This frequently leads to his removal from the College, which is generally so managed as to conceal from

his fellow students the real cause of his leaving them. Should his friends not remove him, and should he again deserve censure, instant and disgraceful dismission is the inevitable consequence. For very flagrant immorality, or breach of discipline, the punishment is expulsion; which differs from dismission in this respect, that the sentence is read by the senior Professor before the whole members of the College, and the culprit is rendered incapable of admission to any other in the whole country. These various gradations of punishment have a powerful effect in preserving good order, and all are aware that none but those whose conduct is upon the whole meritorious, will be allowed to complete the course and obtain academic honours.

Till very lately the students of the Senior class exercised, by ancient usage, the discretionary power of summoning before them individuals of the Freshman class, to reprimand them for indiscretions. The intoxication of power, however, has led older and wiser men astray; and as it was found that the exercise of this prerogative caused more mischief than it cured, it has been altogether abolished.

It has sometimes happened in the American Colleges, that a few evil disposed individuals have organized secret and systematic conspiracies; which have resulted in taking possession of the College buildings, and for a time overturning all order and

authority. To prevent so far as possible the possibility of such an occurrence, the buildings are so constructed that only a small number of sleeping apartments have communication with each other; to each division, students of various ages and dispositions are allotted, and in most of them one of the Tutors or unmarried Professors has his apartments, so that no disorderly conduct can take place in any of the rooms without the probability of its being discovered. The happy effect of this and the other regulations is demonstrated by the fact, that there has never been any open rebellion in Yale College. There has been but one approach to extensive insubordination, and that was directed not against the Professors, but against the cooks. In this instance the two younger classes absented themselves in a body from commons; and on the reason of such conduct being demanded, they represented that the food had been very carelessly prepared. The Professors replied that their mode of resenting this was disorderly and unconstitutional, and that till they returned to their duty, no enquiry could take place respecting it. The students immediately returned to commons, and presented a petition for redress; examination was instituted, and the complaint proving well founded, some of the cooks were punished and harmony restored.

The hours of study commence in summer at five o'clock, and in winter at six. Morning and

evening prayers, with reading of the Scriptures, take place in the chapel, at which every student is required to be present. Regularity of attendance in the class rooms at the hours of recitation, is rigidly enforced, and except during the hours of recreation, which are three or four in the course of the day, no one is allowed to be absent from his apartment. They are forbidden to frequent an inn, or to be absent from commons without special invitation of a friend, and permission of the Professors; they must not attend any ball or theatrical representation during term time, or play at any game of chance. When the number of students exceeds what can be accommodated in the College buildings, the overplus are permitted, at the discretion of the Faculty, to lodge with private families; but they are still subject to the laws which regulate the other students.[9] It has always been observed however, that of those who live out of College, a much larger proportion become obnoxious to censure and dismission, than of those who are within the walls. On Sabbath and public Fast or Thanksgiving days, all the students are required to attend worship in the College Chapel; except those of a different religious denomination, who have obtained liberty to attend some other

[9] 'Boarding out,' as it is called, is now much less necessary, in consequence of the erection of two new buildings, with increased accommodation for lecture rooms and sleeping apartments. (Nov. 1820.)

place of worship. During the remainder of the day they must keep to their apartments, and are expected to be engaged in reading the Scriptures.

The expense of education at Yale College is I believe rather less than at Harvard. The cost of tuition, boarding within the College, fuel and light, washing, use of furniture, books, stationary, &c. is rated by the lowest estimate at from £40 to £50 sterling; to live out of the College costs at least £20 more. The expense of attending the medical school, during the course of five months, amounts to about the same sum. To this must be added, by those who come from a distance, travelling expenses, and boarding during the vacations. Calculating these, and other usual contingencies, I believe that few students can keep their expenditure much under about £100 sterling a year; and some of the more extravagant frequently spend twice as much. The College bills are paid by the academical students three times a year, to the Treasurer and Steward, not as with us to the individual Professors. The President has an annual salary of about £450 sterling, the Professors from £270, to £340. In the medical department the Professors receive no other salary than the fees of the students; with the exception of one who has an annual stipend of £90 sterling. The Professors of Chemistry and Mathematics, besides their salaries as academical Professors, have half of the fees re-

ceived from medical students and strangers, who attend their classes.

There are three literary societies conducted by the students, called the 'Linonian,' the 'Brothers,' and the 'Calliopean,' with one or other of which all must be connected. Two of these societies have libraries containing upwards of a thousand volumes. Their proceedings are sanctioned by the Professors. A society of a superior kind exists among them which is called the "Phi Beta Kappa," but respecting its nature I can give little information, for its regulations and management are kept profoundly secret. The students are not eligible to it till the latter part of the third year, and not more than about a third of a class are admitted. The President is usually a distinguished citizen of the State, or an officer of the College, and the honour of membership is an object of much ambition. I observe that several of the members wear on their watch Key, the cabalistic letters, Φ B K, with a hand pointing to a star. Among the students there are also a Moral, a Missionary, and a Bible Society.

Yale College is possessed of a valuable library, philosophical apparatus, and cabinet of minerals.

The library contains nearly eight thousand volumes, and is open under certain regulations to the Professors, Tutors, resident Graduates, medical students, and the two senior academical classes.

The greater part of the philosophical instru-

ments were purchased in London in 1805, by Professor Silliman, who was despatched on this honourable mission by his brother Professors. This gentleman, after spending the greater part of the summer and autumn in England, attempted to visit Paris by way of Holland, but was unceremoniously stopped on the imperial confines of the 'great nation,' and compelled to make all haste back again; he studied during the winter at Edinburgh College, and returned in the succeeding spring by way of Glasgow and Greenock to New York. He has published a journal of his travels in two octavo volumes; and it is calculated to flatter our national vanity, that two editions have been sold off, so completely, that I found difficulty in procuring in New Haven even a used copy. Mr. Silliman's observations on the national character of the British, are distinguished throughout by the utmost liberality and kindness, and he has evinced a particular partiality to the domestic manners of Scotland. You cannot fail to be gratified by his comments on a Scotish 'good night.'

'The American Journal of Science' has been recently begun here, under Mr. Silliman's editorial care. This publication, like Dr. Thomson's 'Annals of Philosophy,' is devoted to original communications and intelligence on the various subjects of chemistry, experimental philosophy, natural history, the ornamental and useful arts. America furnishes an ample and almost unbroken field for

information on such subjects, and I doubt not that this journal will do much to increase the fame of the philosophers of the republic, and to conciliate the respect of scientific men of every country.[10]

Connected with the philosophical department is a most commodious and well furnished chemical laboratory; to which the students are admitted, that they may have an opportunity of gaining a practical acquaintance, with the many delicate and interesting experiments of modern chemistry; an advantage which can never be enjoyed in an ordinary lecture room.

The cabinet of minerals is by far the finest in America; and in Europe I understand there are but few that surpass it.

This superb collection is principally the property of a Colonel Gibbs, an enthusiastic and scientific mineralogist, who with equal liberality and good taste has deposited his minerals within the college walls, as being in every point of view the most suitable place for them. Colonel Gibbs' collection contains about 18,000 well selected specimens, many of which are exceedingly rare and valuable. It was formed by combining two European cabi-

[10] A third and enlarged edition of Professor Silliman's British Travels, has followed me across the Atlantic; accompanied by a 'Tour to Quebec' which he has recently published, and which contains much correct information respecting Canada and its inhabitants, characterized by the same manliness and candour which distinguish the former publication. (Dec. 1821.)

nets; the one that of M. Gigot D'Orcy of Paris, one of the Farmers General under Louis XVI. guillotined during the sway of Robespierre, the other formerly belonging to Count Razamuski a Russian, who had taken refuge from political animosities at Lausanne in Switzerland, but on receiving permission to return home sold his minerals to Colonel Gibbs, who was then studying under the celebrated Professor Struve. To these he added many specimens collected by his own industry. It is believed that a cabinet equally complete could not be purchased in Europe for less than £5000 sterling. Along with these are arranged between five and six thousand specimens, the property of the College and of Professor Silliman, to which additions are frequently made.[11]

The pecuniary resources of Yale College, are unfortunately no way equal to the science and zeal of its Professors. I have already alluded to the unhappy prejudice which prevails, throughout the State, to every thing above the rank of a common English School; and this illiberal sentiment has operated most powerfully to restrain the capabilities of Yale College. The annual income of the institution does not amount at present to £4500 sterling, and of this, only about £800 is from real stock; the whole remaining sum is derived from

[11] In one of the new buildings a spacious hall 84 feet by 42 has been fitted up for the Minerals. (Dec. 1821.)

the fees of students and other fluctuating sources. From this income are paid the salaries of the Professors, Tutors, and other officers, repairs on the old buildings and the erection of new ones, the increase of the library and philosophical apparatus, as well as other contingencies. For all the improvements which have been lately made, the College is entirely indebted to the economizing efforts of its managers, and the distinguished talents and industry of its Presidents and Professors. The reputation which it acquired under the late venerated Dr. Dwight, has been well sustained by the members of its Faculty who have survived, or succeeded him; and the salutary principles upon which its concerns are regulated, give the fairest promise that its superiority will be perpetuated.

Were the Government and people of Connecticut suitably alive to the honour and importance, in a national point of view, of cherishing this nursery of the liberal arts, they would 'delight to honour' it with their legislative support and bounty. They would endow new professorships; they would enable the College to purchase Colonel Gibbs' minerals, which it is believed he would sell, and so prevent the possibility of their ever being removed; they would bestow upon the library a permanent fund for its annual augmentation; they would, in a word, at once raise the institution from its present almost total dependence on the fluctuating prosperity of agriculture and trade. Thus

would they place upon a secure basis, the prosperity of a seminary which exerts a most powerful and most salutary influence upon the national character; which contributes largely to foster that mental superiority which birth cannot confer, nor wealth of itself purchase, and which has in all ages largely contributed to decide the destinies of nations.[12]

Were we to institute a comparison between American and Scotish university education, the result would not, I believe, be in every respect favourable to ourselves. The systems are essentially different, and each has its peculiar advantages.

In Scotland none of the students live within the college walls, nor do the Professors exercise any superintendence over their time, excepting during the class hours. Throughout the rest of the day they may be idle or industrious, choose good society

[12] A writer in the North American Review, after enlarging on this subject with a zeal that does honour to a member of a rival institution, adds;—"To appeal moreover to a feeling which has perhaps had too great influence over the legislatures, which have successively withheld the public patronage from Yale, we would add that on the simple footing of pecuniary account the State is much indebted to the college. The latter brings annually into circulation in Connecticut many thousands of dollars, and has done so for a long course of years. It lays no small part of the country under contribution, to increase the wealth of Connecticut; and it were but common justice in the State, to return into the funds of the college, a small portion of the means which the college gathers for the State." *North American Review, No. XXXIX. p.* 396.

or bad, visit the church or the theatre, as they or their friends please. All those who are immediately under the eye of their parents are of course left to their management and superintendence, and this may by many be esteemed incompatible with the American system, but it is not so—the regulations of Yale College do not require that any whose parents reside in New Haven, should either eat or sleep in the college, but they require that by them as well as others, the hours appointed for private study should be so appropriated. With regard to students who come from a distance the advantage is certainly in favour of America, for in place of being left as in Glasgow exposed to the allurements and vice of a populous city, scattered up and down without one to control or to care for them, they are sheltered and watched over with unremitting care; and every effort is made to form their moral character, as well as to instruct them in literature and the sciences.

In Glasgow no restriction exists as to the age at which students enter College, nor as to the amount of reading which is requisite for admission. Boys of eleven and twelve are not unfrequently seen wearing the enviable scarlet gown; and if most of those who enter have a competent knowledge of Latin, and many a trifling acquaintance with Greek, it is owing almost entirely to the excellent system of our Grammar School, for some of the country students bring but very little of the one language,

and not a single letter of the other. It would be a manifest improvement to admit none under fourteen or fifteen, and to require an examination on a certain number of classical authors.

The 'curriculum,' as it is termed at Glasgow, includes Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and excepting the last two, each branch may be said to be studied *individually*, that is without any necessary connexion with the others. Thus, during the first and second year the student's attention is devoted to Latin and Greek, and to them alone; he is quite at liberty to forget, during this period, that there are such things as English grammar, arithmetic, or geography. The third year is devoted to Logic, or rather to the improvement of his powers of knowledge, taste, and communication, with particular reference to the study of general grammar and English composition. Latin and Greek may now be laid almost entirely on the shelf. The fourth year brings the student into the mazes of Ethics and Morals; a little is read of the Latin philosophical writers, and the practice of English composition is continued. During this session it is customary to study Mathematics, but all other subjects are 'beyond the record.' The fifth and last session finds the student in the Natural Philosophy class, and now Ethics, Logic, Greek and Latin, may all be more or less neglected. This finishes the academical course; an examination is

undergone by those who wish a degree in Arts, upon the various subjects which have been studied, and excepting those who are preparing for the church, the legal or medical professions, few think of going farther.

The system is remarkably different at Yale College. No subject occupies the student's attention, so as to exclude others equally important; all are studied in their natural succession, but in such a way as always to keep in view what has been acquired, and thus not allow one thing to jostle out another. The student takes a larger range also in Yale College than is obtained at Glasgow; Arithmetic, Geography, Rhetoric and Forensic Disputation, Chemistry and Mineralogy, *must* all be studied during the academical course. It is not sufficient that in Glasgow most of these branches *may* be acquired during the same period, they form no part of the 'curriculum,' and are very generally neglected by all but professional students. There can scarcely then remain a doubt, but that more general knowledge will be acquired at Yale than at Glasgow College, by those who study only what they are forced to do; and of what is thus acquired, more is likely to be retained.

The *public* examinations are more frequent and more minute at Yale College, than at Glasgow. Before entering an advanced class, the students in Glasgow College are publicly examined on the studies of the previous year, but in Yale each

class is twice a year minutely scrutinized on the whole range of their previous studies. The private examinations are probably in both pretty nearly equal.

In Glasgow every one who enters is matriculated as a matter of course, and misconduct in the class room is punished by a pecuniary mulct, while dismission from College is so rare, that a case of it may not occur for ten or fifteen years. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the very different regulations at Yale, or to enlarge upon their salutary influence.

The lecture and recitation hours with us are two or three a day, for each class; the remainder of his time is at the student's own disposal. At Yale only a small portion of the day is allowed for recreation; the rest must be devoted to study. The session at Glasgow lasts for six months; the vacation for other six. At Yale the whole three recesses amount only to twelve weeks; probably it would be better that they should occur at one period, but certainly to spend, as we do, six months out of twelve in relaxation, is too much.

There are however in Glasgow College some important features of superiority. The lectures at the private hour to the Latin and Greek classes, upon antiquities, the higher topics of criticism, and their connexion with the philosophy of language and general grammar, are I believe, of a decidedly superior character to any that are usually met with

elsewhere. The exercises also of the Logic class, as they are at present conducted in Glasgow, have given the College a célebrity in this department which no similar institution in the kingdom enjoys. It is not easy to calculate how much is effected during this session alone in training the young mind to habits of industry and accuracy, which are of the utmost importance in future life, and are singularly suited to qualify the intellectual powers for successful exercise, in all circumstances and on all subjects. The gentleman who has so long and so ably filled the Logic chair in the University of Glasgow,[13] has had the appropriate, and certainly most gratifying reward, of seeing many of his students rise to the highest celebrity in future life, and of hearing them ascribe their success to the *bent* of mind which they acquired while under his tuition.

The excitements to exertion which result from the public distribution of prizes, are in Glasgow much more numerous than in Yale College; and this to a certain degree is decidedly advantageous. The public honours of the 'First of May' have a powerful effect in exciting the emulation of the young students; and many an hour during the long vacation is redeemed from idleness, of which otherwise no good account could have been render-

[13] Mr. Jardine; author of a volume in which his system of tuition is fully developed, entitled, "Outlines of Philosophical Education," &c.

ed. The allotment of the rewards for prize exercises is conducted with scrupulous precaution, and as the authors remain unknown to the judges till the decision is publicly announced, perfect confidence is reposed in the impartiality of the verdict. It is otherwise however with the distribution of the class prizes; these are determined by the votes of the students, and it sometimes happens that conflicting motives and feelings sway the minds of the voters, and modify the impartiality of their suffrages. The abstract propriety of such excitements has often been questioned; and though many objections are fairly chargeable against them I am inclined to think, that, constituted as the human mind is, more wisdom will be shown by their well-regulated use, than by their total abolition.

Few, if any, bursaries, or exhibitions as they are styled in England, are connected with the American colleges.[14] In Scotland the value of these is exceedingly small, generally about five guineas annually, and very rarely exceeding ten; yet trifling as they may seem, many who afterwards rose high in the literary world, were in a great measure dependent on such aid for their College education.

[14] A bursary is a small annual stipend, resulting from the benevolent endowment of some friend to literature, and appropriated to the assistance of students whose resources are not ample. Bursaries are sometimes in the gift of the Professors, under limitations prescribed by the founders; and at other times appointed as the reward of superior classical attainments.

The paramount and peculiar advantage however of the Scotish Universities, is the low price at which education is afforded, and the facilities which are thus given to those in the humblest ranks of life, of raising themselves to respectability by literary and scientific attainments. Dominie Sampson's College life, is a most appropriate, and by no means an overcharged illustration of this. "Abel Sampson," says the 'Great Unknown,' "commonly called from his occupation as a pedagogue, Dominie Sampson, was of low birth, but having evinced even from his cradle an uncommon seriousness of disposition, the poor parents were encouraged to hope that *their bairn*, as they expressed it, *might wag his pow in a poupit yet.* With an ambitious view to such a consummation, they pinched and pared, rose early and lay down late, eat dry bread and drank cold water, to secure to Abel the means of learning." After describing the Dominie's peculiar habits and ungainly appearance, our author proceeds, "He slunk from College by the most secret paths he could discover, and plunged himself into his miserable lodging, where, for eighteen pence a week, he was allowed the benefit of a straw mattress, and, if his landlady was in good humour, permission to study his task by her fire. Under these disadvantages he obtained a competent knowlege of Greek and Latin, and some acquaintance with the sciences." After poor Sampson's fruitless efforts at pulpit ora-

tory, it is recorded that "he sought to assist his parents by teaching a school, and soon had plenty of scholars but very few fees. In fact he taught the sons of farmers for what they chose to give him, and the poor for nothing; and to the shame of the former be it spoken, the pedagogue's gains never equalled those of a skilful ploughman."

I doubt not that most readers who are not intimately acquainted with a Scotish College, have regarded this sketch as broad caricature, possessing only so much resemblance to truth as was necessary to identify the portrait; but there are few who have studied in our native country who have not seen living instances of almost equal poverty and perseverance, happily however resulting in very different success. The remarkable, I might almost say instinctive, desire for education which pervades all classes in Scotland, from the castle to the cottage,[15] has in numberless cases

[15] The truth of the following anecdote comes within my personal knowledge. A few years ago a poor woman, in a small village on the west coast of Scotland, was by her husband's death left dependent on her own exertions for the support of herself and four children, the eldest of whom was about eleven years of age. Unable to bear the expense of educating each in the customary way, and yet eager that they should be instructed, she bargained with the village schoolmaster, that for the price of teaching one, he should allow two to attend the school alternately, one the one day and the other the next; by this ingenious device, she procured for both of them the invaluable blessing of education, and furnished a striking instance of the honourable shifts, by which the poor can often acquire for themselves advantages which are seemingly beyond their attainment.

instigated to self-denial on the part of the parents, and exertions on the part of the children, as great as are here depicted; and our peculiar system of College education has afforded facilities, which could no where else have been found, for gratifying this laudable thirst for knowledge. The sum of eighteen pence a week, is indeed below the amount of room rent which I have known to be in any case paid, but I have known of accommodations being had for three shillings and sixpence a week, so much superior to those of poor Sampson, that I have no doubt many have been accommodated, even since I went to College, for a sum little exceeding that which the poor Dominie paid; and many it is well known struggle their way through the different classes, dependent altogether for their maintenance on that which was the 'sticket minister's' last resort, the teaching of a small school during the few hours which they are able to snatch from their studies and their sleep. Names of no small renown may be quoted, who, by their own experience in this respect, knew

> "———— how hard it is to climb
> The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar!"

The author of these lines himself, the amiable Beattie, taught his way through the University, aided only by a small bursary which was won by his superior merit, and it is said that the early life of Dr. Adams, the late distinguished rector of

the High School at Edinburgh, was a still more striking instance of successful struggling with adverse circumstances. Such instances are sufficient to reconcile us in a great measure to the system of our Scotish Colleges. They could not have happened in England or in America. Whatever advantages may be derived from the students' living within the walls, and from few vacant hours being left to their own disposal, it necessarily follows that little if any difference can be made in the necessary cost of education, lodging and food; and that almost nothing can be done by a poor student to earn his own support.[16]

Setting aside however individual cases, the expense of academical education in Glasgow is extremely moderate. The fee paid to the Professor of each class for one session is three guineas, and was till lately but two. A young man therefore who attends two classes during the same session, as is very customary, pays six guineas in fees; and another guinea will discharge the minor academical charges. The cost of board and lodging in the city varies, of course, according to the inclinations and means of the individual; they may be both obtained for less than

[16] I have subsequently learned that occasionally a few of the students at Yale College receive leave of absence for three or four months to teach some of the district schools; and that others become entitled to exemptions from some part of the College charges, by waiting upon the other students at meals, ringing the College bell, &c. (1823.)

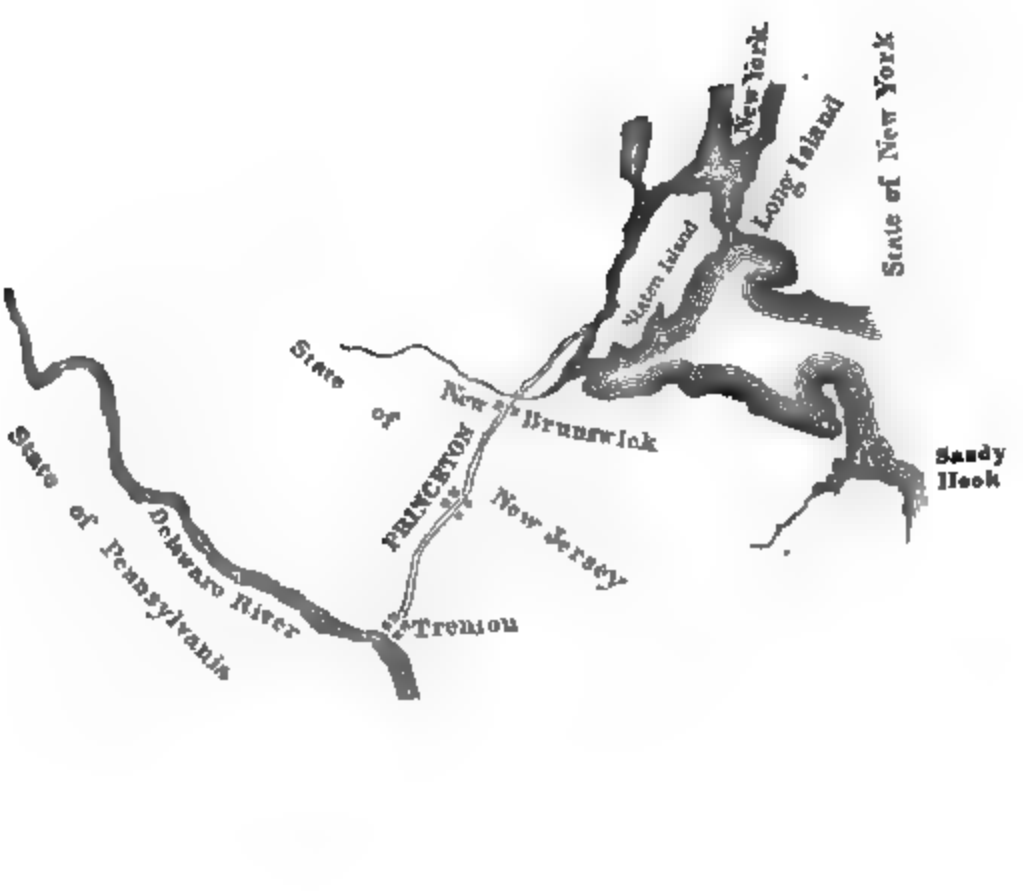
ten shillings, and I believe that the average amount paid by those who live in a respectable way, does not exceed twenty. The allurements to extravagance with which a city so large as Glasgow abounds, are certainly numerous; but a powerful barrier is opposed to their influence, when many of the students, so far from having money to expend on frivolities, are dependent for their support in a greater or less degree upon their own exertions, even during the time of their attending the classes; and some allowance must be made in other cases for the characteristic habits of the Scotish nation, as to prudence and economy.

I have tried to be impartial in this comparison of the academical system of the two Colleges. To say that both of them are susceptible of improvement, is only to say that they are human institutions. Both however attain with considerable success the objects of their institution; they develop the mental faculties of the young, store their minds with literary and scientific knowledge, and train them to active efforts in the discovery and communication of truth; the philanthropist will therefore regard each of them as the source of unmeasured benefit to the human race, and he will cordially wish their conductors increased success in their salutary labours.

I was present on one occassion at the splendid annual ceremonial of the ‘ Commemoration’ at Oxford; beyond all comparison the most im-

posing scene of a literary kind that I ever witnessed. The great officers of the University, heads of houses, and young noblemen, were all arrayed in their appropriate and gorgeous costumes, and the highest academic honours were conferred, with every attention to pomp and circumstance, on men of distinguished reputation in literature, arms, and hereditary rank; prize essays were read, and the founders and benefactors of the several Colleges 'commemorated' with grateful eulogy, in a long Latin oration. To such a scene as this, Glasgow College and Yale are alike unable to furnish a parallel, but the relative influence of each institution on the wellbeing of society, is not thus to be estimated; and both Scotland and America may reap the most abundant advantage from their academical institutions, while the utmost simplicity prevails in their organization and festivals.

LETTER VI.


New York
Long Island
State of New York
Staten Island
State of
New Jersey
Brunswick
PRINCETON
Sandy
Hook
New Jersey
Delaware River
State of Pennsylvania
Tremon

LETTER VI.

PRINCETON COLLEGE—PROFESSORSHIPS—STUDENTS—LOCAL ADVANTAGES—UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA—PROPOSED SYSTEM—OTHER AMERICAN COLLEGES—THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—PROFESSORSHIPS—COURSE OF STUDY — CONGREGATIONAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT ANDOVER—FOREIGN MISSION SCHOOL AT CORNWALL.

Princeton, New Jersey, August, 1818.

A COLLEGE was founded here in the year 1738, which gradually attained to a highly respectable rank as a literary institution. This was more particularly the case during the presidency of the venerable Dr. Witherspoon, who was invited from Scotland to occupy this honourable situation.

Academical institutions, like those of other kinds, are subject to many vicissitudes of fortune; and Princeton College, from the limited number of its Faculty, is more so than some others. In the sister establishments of Yale and Harvard, where the Professors are so much more numerous, a casual mediocrity of talent in one or two, is generally compensated by eminence in the rest; but here where a President, two Professors, and two Tutors, form the whole corporation, much more depends upon their individual abilities.

Upon the President, besides the general superintendence, devolves the instruction of the Students, in Theology, Moral Philosophy, Belles Lettres, and Logic; one of the Professors teaches the Greek and Latin languages, the other Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry. The co-operation of the Tutors is variously applied, as circumstances may render it necessary. It is obvious, that this system requires no ordinary amount of talent, and extent of acquirement, in the President and Professors. The branches of study which have been enumerated, would afford abundant scope for the skill and industry of at least half a dozen of persons,—it is too much to expect, that men will be readily found capable of presiding, with success, in three or four departments of knowledge, remotely, if at all, connected with each other. On some rare occasion indeed, a happily constituted mind, some man of a thousand, may be found, whose powers and industry are equal to the task which is thus imposed; and when splendid talents are brought into operation on so wide a field, the fame of the college may suddenly rise, and soar in proud pre-eminence over every similar institution; but in arranging the system of a literary establishment, he would be a visionary indeed, who would calculate on a succession of such men, to fill its various departments:—Britain has produced but one Sir William Jones.

There are at present in this college 150 students;

but were the institution established upon a more liberal scale—and this ought to be the anxious care of the citizens and legislature of New Jersey—it is probable from its local advantages, that its students would soon outnumber those of any other American college. Situate midway between New York and Philadelphia, its proximity to both gives it a decided advantage over both Harvard and Yale. To the immense territory south and west of Philadelphia, it is as yet the nearest academical institution of any considerable reputation; and will certainly, if other things are equal, obtain a preference to those that are two or three hundred miles farther off. The wealthiest families in the Union, and those who scatter money most lavishly, belong to the southern part of it, and if a University can be supported any where, on a liberal scale, they are able to do it. A young man from Georgia, a student at Princeton, informs me that he spent during the first year upwards of £350 sterling, and probably he was not singular in so profuse an expenditure.

A detailed account of the discipline of Princeton would be superfluous, after the information which I have already so fully communicated respecting Yale. You have there a pretty correct sketch of academical education in America, in its most perfect form; and the differences which exist in minor colleges, generally arise from the want of means to carry the system into full operation. Princeton

approaches as nearly to perfection as can be expected, and it has had the honour of sending out some of the most distinguished orators and statesmen, that America has produced.

The State of Virginia is about to establish a University of the most aspiring kind, and Jefferson, Madison, and some other of the great names of this western hemisphere, have combined their talents in framing its constitution.[1] What the result in this instance may be, time alone can determine; but from all circumstances it must be apparent, that a great and growing attention is bestowed, throughout the country on Literature and Science.

There are in the extensive territory of the United States, upwards of thirty colleges. A number of these, it is true, particularly in the western and southern States, can only be regarded as academies; there are, however, ten or twelve of decided

[1] From first appearances, there seems reason to anticipate that this proposed University will be a total failure; and from the well known sentiments of its founders, on speculative and revealed truth, I cannot much regret that it should be so. When it is established on Christian principles, we shall then rejoice in its success. As a matter of curiosity I subjoin the outline of the academical course, which the Commissioners for the University have projected. They have disposed the subjects of study into 'groupes,' each of which they say, "is within the powers of a single Professor," if so, some individuals of the decade will be no ordinary men.

1 *Languages Ancient;* Latin, Greek, Hebrew.

2 *Languages Modern;* French, Spanish, Italian, German, Anglo-Saxon.

3 *Mathematics Pure;* Algebra, Fluxions, Geometry Elementary,

respectability, and of these five or six are pre-eminent.

A Theological Seminary has recently been established at Princeton, by the Presbyterian Church of the United States. The proximity of this institution to the College, must be regarded as a happy circumstance for each; for the institutions can scarcely fail to be mutually beneficial. Their combined advantages will probably induce many young men to select Princeton as their place of study, who might otherwise have gone elsewhere; and the literary intercourse which is likely to take place between the respective professors, must be favourable to the development of mental talent, and the cultivation of acquired knowledge. An outline of the system of theological education which here prevails, may be a very suitable sequel to that which has been given of a classical one.

Geometry Transcendental, Architecture Military, Architecture Naval.

4 *Physico-Mathematics;* Mechanics, Statics, Dynamics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Optics, Astronomy, Geography.

5 Physics, or Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy.

6 Botany, Zoology.

7 Anatomy, Medicine.

8 Government, Political Economy, Law of Nature and Nations, History, (being interwoven with Politics and Law.)

9 Law, Municipal.

10 Ideology, General Grammar, Ethics, Rhetoric, Belles Lettres, and the Fine Arts.

Additional information on this subject, accompanied with some judicious observations on the detail of the plan, will be found in an article in the *North American Review, No. XXVI. p.* 115.

The Presbyterian Theological Academy was founded in 1811, in consequence of an Act of the General Assembly. The funds for its establishment were derived, partly from collections throughout the congregations under the jurisdiction of the Assembly, and partly from private subscriptions. The Seminary has been begun on so extensive a scale, that though the amount which was collected was very considerable, it has not been sufficient to establish it at once in a flourishing condition; and hitherto a part only of the projected plan has been carried into effect. The resources of the Presbyterian Church however are ample, and there is every reason to believe, that farther efforts will not be wanting, till the school is endowed with a revenue adequate to ensure its permanent efficiency.

For lecture rooms and sleeping apartments, a large building has been erected, which is said to have cost nearly seventeen thousand pounds sterling.[2] As yet this house is but partly occupied, and I believe that a number of the students reside in the village.

There are at present only two Professors, but it is intended that there should be other two, and some of the Synods have begun to appropriate funds for this purpose. The Professors have each a salary of four hundred pounds sterling, besides

[2] A house for one of the Professors has been subsequently finished at an expense of about £3500 sterling,—this is doing things on a liberal scale.

a house. The students amount to about eighty. The cost of boarding, lodging and other contingencies, amounts in general to £40 or £50 sterling a year, the tuition is altogether gratuitous.

As yet there are but four exhibitions connected with the institution, although a large proportion of those who study have but very limited resources; measures however have been adopted for their gradual increase. These exhibitions, or scholarships as they are termed, have each a capital of about £560 sterling, which must be profitably invested, for their annual value is said to be about fifty pounds.

The Professors are appointed by the General Assembly, and every effort is made to provide men in whose principles, ability, and learning, full reliance may be placed. Before admission, they are required to declare upon oath, their perfect and unreserved agreement with the Westminster confession of faith; and the Assembly retains an absolute power to displace at its own pleasure, any of them who from change of sentiment, or other causes, may be judged unfit to continue in office. These precautions are likely to secure the agreement of the theological instructors, with the sentiments of the majority of the General Assembly;—if that majority holds sound doctrine, the institution will inculcate the same, but should "the doctrines and commandments of men" hold an ascendency there, it will be impossible to prevent the

source of instruction from being similarly contaminated; and this, as was remarked by one of the present students, is one of the great dangers to be apprehended from a public school of Divinity, for an able but unsound Professor may corrupt a generation. The superintendence of the Seminary is committed to a board of thirty Directors, whose authority extends to all but the appointment and dismissal of the Professors.

Of the Professors who are already appointed, one lectures on Theology, the other on Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. The next who is added will probably be devoted to Oriental Literature.

The course of study is completed in three years, but young men may enter at any period of the course. In each year there are two terms; the first from November 6th to May 12th, the second from July 1st to September 25th. There is no penal code of discipline promulgated; it is presumed that Theological students do not require it.

The duties of the first year commence with the study of Hebrew, with or without the points; which is for the present taught by the Professor of Theology,—after which comes a course of Jewish Antiquities, in a series of lectures; and the connexion of Sacred and Profane History, in which Prideaux and Shuckford are used as text books.

The second year opens with studies relating to the philosophy of the mind. Questions are proposed, for answer and illustration, which embrace the most important doctrines of that science; and the student is thus led to an acquaintance with the works of Locke, Beattie, Reid, Hume, Stewart, and the other distinguished writers on metaphysics. This is employed as introductory to the evidences and principles of natural religion, as it is called, from which they pass to revealed religion, and thence to didactic theology. Turretin is the text book on this subject; but the interrogatory style of investigation is continued, and the student is required to extend his reading very considerably, that he may become acquainted with the various opinions and systems of different writers. This second division of the course occupies about fifteen months.

During the same period, the other Professor carries the class through ecclesiastical history; on which Mosheim is the text book, but his deficiencies are supplied by lectures. Along with this they have also a very complete course of the historical department of biblical criticism.

During the remaining nine months, the first Professor carries them through polemical theology, in which Stæffer is the text book, and completes the subject of biblical criticism. The other Professor investigates with them the various systems of church government; and the course is completed

by lectures, from the one on the pastoral office, and from the other on the composition of a sermon. Apart from the course of public instruction, the students have societies for literary discussion, and for preaching; in the latter the Professors preside, and they may therefore be regarded as a portion of the academical system.

During the course there are repeated examinations before the Directors of the Seminary; a more particular one at the close of each session, and one of yet severer scrutiny at the end of the three years. The student is then remitted to the presbytery, to whose jurisdiction he belongs, by which he is again examined, and should the result be satisfactory he receives from the presbytery license to preach.

As this institution is as yet but in its infancy, much cannot be said as to its success. We may readily suppose, however, that the General Assembly will at all times appoint to its superintendence, the ablest men that the Presbyterian Church can produce, and exercise over it a watchful and fostering care.

I have already alluded[3] to a similar institution at Andover, which is in connexion with the New England Congregational Church. That Seminary differs in some respects from this, and in relation to pecuniary affairs, is for the present in a more flour-

[3] Vide Letter Second.

ishing condition. It was founded in 1808; and had its origin in the liberality of three or four wealthy individuals, who not only bestowed funds sufficient for the commencement of the academy, but as it was observed to rise in usefulness and reputation, gradually enlarged the amount of their munificent contributions, till it has become possessed of several commodious buildings, and of four endowed professorships, worth it is said from £300 to £400 sterling a year. The branches for which they are appointed, are biblical literature, sacred rhetoric, ecclesiastical history, and systematic theology; with these they combine the other departments of a theological education, and the establishment is probably as practically useful as if the professorships were more numerous. The chairs are said to be reputably filled;—one of them indeed by a gentleman of high celebrity throughout the whole Union. Besides these advantages Andover possesses about forty Scholarships, which are, however, less in individual amount than the two at Princeton. At present there are in all upwards of one hundred students.[4]

Among theological seminaries the 'Foreign Mission School' at Cornwall in the State of Connecticut is particularly worthy of notice; the more

[4] A very valuable correspondent, on whose accuracy I have good reason to place implicit reliance, writes me (1822) that the private benefactions to the Andover Theological Academy since its foundation, have already amounted to very nearly the sum of £100,000 sterling.

so, that there is not in Britain, so far as I know, any similar institution. This academy is devoted to the instruction of young natives of foreign countries, with the view of qualifying them to return home as missionaries or teachers. It was founded in consequence of what, in usual language, would be called the accidental arrival in America, in 1809, of Obookiah, a native of Owhyhee; a young man who showed an ardent thirst for useful knowledge, and who falling under the care of some benevolent and enlightened individuals in New Haven, was, through their instrumentality, made acquainted with the important truths of the gospel. Obookiah made considerable progress in literary studies, and soon evinced an earnest desire to return to his native country as a missionary; and some other individuals of his countrymen having been discovered in America, they were brought together, that they might preserve an acquaintance with their native language, and receive such an education as would be useful to them, should any of them be found qualified and disposed to accompany Obookiah. The providence of God, however, has disappointed

The number of students is rapidly increasing, as the following abstract indicates:—

Summary of the Andover Catalogue for 1821-2.

Resident Licentiates .	5
Senior Class	31
Middle Class . . .	35
Junior Class	61
Total	132

the high expectations which were formed of that young man's future usefulness;—he was carried off by a fever in the early part of this year, shortly before the intended period of his return to his native country. The school continues to flourish, and several boys belonging to the aboriginal tribes of this continent have lately joined it.[5]

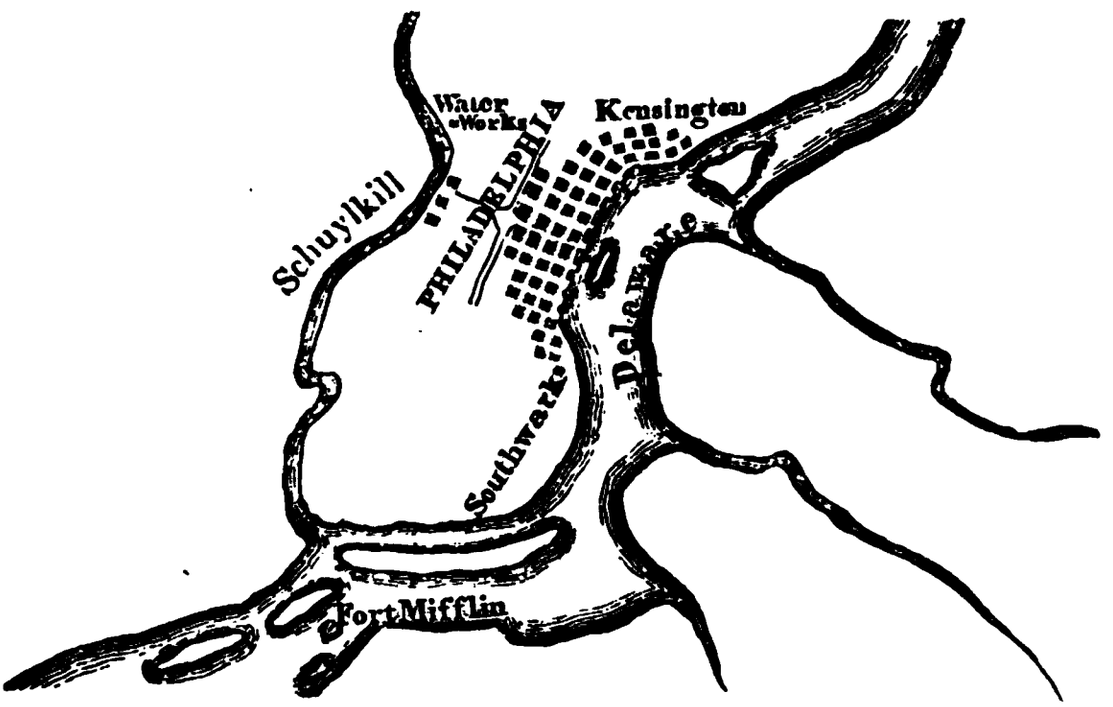
Such an institution is in the highest degree praiseworthy; not only on account of the philanthropic and benevolent views of its founders, but because of the wisdom of its leading principle, and because, if prudently conducted, it promises to be a most efficient instrument of good, to nations which are now in the grossest darkness. Native teachers, and preachers, and translators, are no doubt to be the grand means of enlightening and civilizing the heathen world; they are familiar with the language, the customs, the prejudices, the modes of thinking, and the theology of their countrymen, and they are

[5] A very interesting narrative of Obookiah's eventful life, has been reprinted here in a cheap form, and is sold by Mr. Lang, Wilson Street, Glasgow, Mr. Johnston, Edinburgh, and Mr. Nisbet, London. It will repay a perusal.

The Foreign Mission School contained in September 1822, eighteen pupils, namely, 6 Sandwich Islanders, 1 Malay, 1 Chinese, 1 New Zealander, 1 Cherokee, 1 Oneida, 1 Tuscarora, 1 Caughnawaga, and 2 Stockbridge Indians; 3 natives of the United States, intending to be foreign missionaries. Seven of these were professors of religion. An Owhyhean was expected soon. In March 1823, two young Greeks reached America from Malta, one 15 years of age, the other 11, who had come over for the sole purpose of enjoying the benefit of the school.

exempt from the operation of that feeling of dislike, which necessarily exists in a large degree among all men, to the interference of foreigners, with their religious belief and worship. The extensive commercial intercourse of America with foreign nations, brings many of their young men to its shores; and can Christian benevolence more happily take advantage of this circumstance, than by qualifying such persons, to return as instructors to 'their father's house,' even although this instruction should reach no farther in the first instance than a knowledge of letters and the useful arts? The Bible and all its blessings will necessarily follow. Might not our countrymen take a lesson in this matter from their western brethren, and establish such a school in Britain, where there is a still greater influx of foreigners?

LETTER VII.


Water Works
Kensington
Schuylkill
PHILADELPHIA
Delaware
Southwark
Fort Mifflin

LETTER VII.

PHILADELPHIA—SITUATION—EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL APPEARANCE—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—WATER WORKS—PENITENTIARY—PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL—PEALE'S MUSEUM—SKELETON OF THE MAMMOTH—ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS—LIBRARIES—LITERATURE—ENGRAVING—UNIVERSITY—RELIGIOUS ASPECT—QUAKER MEETING HOUSE AND BURYING GROUND—CHURCHES AND SERMONS—SABBATH SCHOOLS—NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE CITY—JOSEPH BONAPARTE—MOREAU—GENERAL VANDAMME—WOODEN BRIDGES—PROJECTED IMPROVEMENTS.

Philadelphia, September, 1818.

THE position of Philadelphia, although not equal to that of New York, is yet well chosen in reference to the character of the surrounding country. The city stands upon an isthmus about two miles wide, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, five miles above their confluence, and about an hundred and twenty miles from the sea. Both rivers are navigable up to the city by the largest merchantmen. The Delaware is here about a mile in width; the tide rises and falls about six feet, and vessels of 1200 tons can come up to the wharfs. In severe winters, the communication with the sea is still occasionally interrupted; but not so frequently as formerly, nor

for so long at one time, and as the surrounding country becomes cleared of its forests the severity of the winters will be still farther mitigated.

The course of the two rivers at the city is very nearly north and south, but almost immediately above, they diverge; the Delaware to the north-east, and the Schuylkill to the north-west, thus materially facilitating the commercial communication with the interior of the State, and the adjoining one of New Jersey. The Delaware is navigable by large sloops and steam boats to Trenton, about thirty miles above, and the Schuylkill, although above the city comparatively shallow and disturbed with rapids, is navigable by small vessels and rafts to a considerable distance. A little deepening of this river in some places, and the cutting of short canals from one stream to another, would open a communication for some hundreds of miles into the interior. The ground on which the city stands, is covered with a stratum of fine clay; the banks of the Schuylkill furnish a plentiful supply of marble, and the country around is rich in timber, so that materials for building are most abundant.

The appearance of the city from the river is by no means imposing; rather the opposite. The ground is generally level, and the mass of buildings present a dull heavy uniformity; most of those along the bank are by no means elegant, and only a solitary steeple rises above the dense horizon.

The aspect however improves amazingly when you enter the streets, which are wide, straight, and clean, and, with only one exception, cross each other at right angles. The houses are in general of painted brick, but some of the more modern have a flight of marble steps in front, and the lintels of the doors and windows, and even the side walk in front, are of the same beautiful materials.

When Penn laid out the ground for his city, he intended that it should occupy a parallelogram one mile in width, between the two rivers, and that the buildings should be kept within the parallel lines till the intervening space was filled; but the inhabitants found that the bank of the Delaware was a more desirable situation than that of the Schuylkill, and in consequence, buildings have stretched along the former river, above and below the assigned boundary, till the city is here about four miles long, while the streets are not compactly built much farther than half way across to the other river. On both banks of the Schuylkill however a considerable number of buildings have been erected. The populous suburb on the Delaware to the south of the original boundary is called Southwark, that to the north the Northern Liberties, and closer to the river Kensington.[1]

[1] The venerable elm under which according to tradition Penn negociated his celebrated treaty with the Indians, stood at Kensington; and the decayed trunk after being spared by the British army in the Revolutionary war, and weathering many a hard gale, was at

Market street, 100 feet wide, stretches through the centre of the city, from the one river to the other; it is crossed, rather nearer the Schuylkill than midway, by Broad Street, 113 feet wide, and the other streets are at right angles to one or other of these. The cross streets are from 50 to 60 feet wide; those running parallel to the rivers are, with a quaker-like simplicity, which however affords a stranger important facilities in finding his way, named North and South, Front, Second, Third, Fourth, and so on, as they recede from each river; those parallel to Market Street are with more elegance, named after the various kinds of timber with which the ground was formerly covered, Vine, Sassafras, Mulberry, Chesnut, Walnut, Spruce, Pine and Cedar. Water Street, between Front Street and the Delaware, which should have been called *Mud Lane*, and the wharfs which project into the stream, are deviations from the original plan of the city. Dock Street, the only crooked one in the city, was originally the bed of a sluggish stream, which generated

last levelled a few years ago by a hurricane. Portions of it are now eagerly sought after by relic hunters, to be converted, like the Cruick-stone Yew and the rafters of Alloway Kirk, into snuff boxes and other toys. I lately discovered in an old Baltimore newspaper, what is said to be a copy of Penn's treaty; it is in the form of an indenture, and the following are the articles which it specifies as having been given to the Indians, in exchange for the ground between the two rivers, 'as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse.' "20 guns, 20 fathoms matchcoat, 20 fathoms stroud-

noxious air, and was a few years ago arched over.

Not many wooden houses are now to be seen in the streets; the greater part were extirpated by fires, which on different occasions spread dreadful havoc, and since 1796 their erection has been prohibited. The side walks are wider, and less encumbered than those of New York. Many of them are skirted with Lombardy poplars. In hot weather numerous awnings are stretched along in front of the stores, the footwalks are cooled by frequent ablutions with water, and the atmosphere has a freshness and purity which is very uncommon in so large a city.

Market Street which, to correspond with its situation, should have been the most elegant in the city, is disfigured by a long covered piazza in the centre, of the plainest possible appearance, under which the venders of meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, fruit, earthen and wooden ware, expose their commodities for sale; and on either side are carts and wheelbarrows loaded with additional supplies.

water, 20 blankets, 20 kettles, 20 pounds powder, 100 bars lead, 40 tomahawks, 100 knives, 40 pairs stockings, 1 barrel beer, 20 pounds red lead, 100 fathoms wampum, 30 glass bottles, 30 pewter spoons, 100 awl blades, 300 tobacco pipes, 100 hands tobacco, 20 tobacco tongs, 20 steels, 300 flints, 30 pairs scissars, 30 combs, 60 looking glasses, 200 needles, 1 skipple salt, 30 pounds sugar, 5 gallons molasses, 20 tobacco boxes, 100 Jew's harps, 20 hoes, 30 gimblets, 30 wooden screw boxes, 100 strings of beads." This curious document does not appear in Clarkson's life of Penn.

Upon the whole, however, the streets are much superior to the mass of those in New York, although individually, not one of them can be compared with Broadway, nor is there a walk or a prospect equal to what the Battery affords.

Some of the public buildings do honour alike to the liberality of the citizens, and to the classical taste of the architects by whom they were designed. The banking house of Mr. Girard, presents an elegant front almost entirely of white marble. A lofty Corinthian portico, of fluted columns, rises from a flight of steps to the full height of the building, and corresponding pilasters are extended on both sides. The Bank of Pennsylvania is a still more perfect structure, and makes a nearer approach to classical models than any that I have ever seen. The whole building, including even the roof, is of white marble. Its form is a parallelogram one hundred and twenty-five feet long, and fifty-one feet broad; at each end is a flight of ten steps supporting a chaste Ionic portico of six columns, with an entablature, and pediment. The entablature is carried round the building, but the sides are otherwise plain. Under the porticoes, the Grecian character has been carefully preserved, and in neither is there any opening but a single door in the centre.

This magnificent edifice is said to have been designed from a temple at Athens, and the very remarkable correctness of its principal features,

combined with the appropriate and beautiful material of which it is composed, produce a most pleasing effect on the spectator's mind, and forcibly impress him with the sad inferiority of modern decoration, to the simple elegance of Grecian models. The situation which this noble edifice occupies is low and confined, and materially injures its effect.

The foundation has just been dug for a building for the Bank of the United States, the front of which is also to be in the purest Grecian style and of white marble.[2]

None of the other buildings are particularly deserving of notice. Two imitations of the Gothic have been attempted; the one a Bank, the other a Masonic Hall. The buildings are necessarily on a small scale, and the fatal incongruity of red brick walls, with white marble buttresses and pinnacles, must strike every one who has seen an ancient Gothic building.

Philadelphia is furnished with a copious supply of pure water, which is conveyed in pipes throughout the whole city. This has been found here, as every where else, to be eminently conducive to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and has materially aided in lessening the danger of fire,

[2] This structure has been completed, and is highly spoken of. The front is a portico of the full height of the building, consisting of eight columns of the chastest Doric, rising from a flight of steps and supporting a corresponding entablature and pediment. (1822.)

and the prevalence of infectious diseases. In all that respects the virtue of cleanliness, New York would do well to take a lesson from the rival city. The water is raised by the steam engine from the Schuylkill, about two miles above the city, where the river is nearly a quarter of a mile wide, and about thirty feet deep at low water; it is then thrown into a capacious reservoir, close by the bank of the river, and 100 feet above its level, where all the grosser particles gravitate, before its distribution by the pipes. No filtration takes place. About 700,000 gallons are raised every twenty-four hours.[3] In former times the water after being raised from the Schuylkill, was thrown into a small cistern house at the intersection of Market Street and Broad Street, from which it was distributed into the various street pipes. This cistern house is not now in use, but the building remains, and is ornamental to the street; it is of a circular form surmounted with a dome, and surrounded with gravel walks and trees.

Among the public institutions in Philadelphia which a stranger should visit, are the Penitentiary

[3] Very considerable improvements have been recently made on the Water Works. The steam engine has been superseded by a water wheel, 15 feet in diameter and 15 feet wide, which makes 11 revolutions a minute, and works a pump of 4½ feet stroke, discharging its contents 22 times a minute. The quantity of water raised in 24 hours exceeds one million of gallons. Other two wheels of the same size and power will soon be ready for operation. (1822.)

and the Pennsylvania Hospital. The first I did not see in consequence of having postponed my application till I had but one forenoon at command, and then the hour of admission did not suit me. I was assured however, that it was in almost every respect similar to that at Boston, which has been already described. One of the managers stated to me that the defects of the present system are so numerous and apparent, that they intend to erect a new prison, on a scale large enough to admit of almost every inmate being kept in solitary confinement.[4] The criminal code of Pennsylvania is merciful to a proverb. Murder 'of the first degree,' that is, when proved to have resulted from cool and deliberate design, is the only

[4] This design has been carried into effect since my return home, and an attentive correspondent has favoured me with the following particulars of the construction of the prison. The new Philadelphia Penitentiary is surrounded by a strong wall 30 feet high, enclosing a space of ground 650 feet square; the entrance gate is fortified with a portcullis, and on each side are flanking towers containing the keeper's apartments; at the corners are bastions for sentinels. The cells 250 in number and one story high, are disposed in a circle, 75 feet from the nearest part of the outer wall; the open ground at the corners is planted with vegetables. The cells look inward with an iron railing in front, and a round observatory for the superintendent, 60 feet in diameter, occupies the centre of the ground. Each cell measures 10 feet by 12, and they are separated from each other by walls rising 4 to 6 feet above the roof, and projecting 20 feet in front, capped with stone and armed with iron pikes. A common sewer passes under the cells. There is no possibility of intercourse between the prisoners, so that the efficacy of solitary confinement will now undergo a fair trial. (1822.)

capital crime. The Quakers however, have a rooted aversion to return such a verdict, in any circumstances, and a jury is so seldom altogether free from this feeling that capital convictions are exceedingly rare—it is a common saying here, that it requires more interest to get hanged, than to be made Governor of the State.

Pennsylvania Hospital serves at once the several purposes of a Lunatic Asylum, Infirmary, Lying-in and Foundling hospital. The building is large, and although of brick not inelegant; it stands in the centre of one of the square divisions formed by the crossing of four streets, and the whole of the surrounding space is the property of the institution. In front is a circular grass plot, in the centre of which is a statue of William Penn, with the 'charter of privileges' in his hand—it strikingly resembles his portrait in West's well known painting of his treaty with the Indians.

This institution although partially charitable is not altogether so. No patients are admitted gratuitously, except those of the poorest classes; all others pay a regulated board, which varies from about 15s. to 45s. sterling a week. There are however a number of out-door patients, who are attended and supplied with medicines gratuitously, at their own houses. Clinical lectures are regularly delivered to students of anatomy, and the fees are devoted to the support of an Anatomical Museum and Library, to which the students

have access. The museum contains many valuable preparations, models, casts, and drawings; the library consists of about three thousand volumes, and both it and the museum are rapidly increasing. The institution is now possessed of another permanent source of revenue, in West's splendid painting of "Christ healing the sick in the temple," presented by the venerable President of the Royal Academy, who is a native of Pennsylvania, as a pledge of his regard for the benevolent institutions of his native country. A small building has been erected for exhibiting this picture, and a quarter of a dollar is required for admission.[5]

Peale's Museum is another object of popular interest. This is a private collection, and like many similar establishments, contains a good deal that is worth seeing, mingled with many miscellaneous monstrosities which are not worth house-room. My attention was chiefly attracted by the gigantic skeleton of the mammoth or mastodon.

A human being shrinks into insignificance beside the bony fabric of this enormous antediluvian; for such we may safely call it, notwithstanding of the fashionable scepticism of those who are in all things too philosophical to accept of ex-

[5] A more recent traveller states that the exhibition of this painting "yielded 8000 dollars, £1800 sterling, the first year, and 5000 dollars, £1125 sterling, the second; and it is supposed that it will hereafter afford to the hospital an annual revenue of £500 sterling." *Howison's Upper Canada, p.* 338.

planations of natural phenomena from the sacred volume. It is not a partial inundation, nor any supposable succession of them, which could have covered the whole earth, to the tops of the loftiest mountains, with the spoils of the sea, and with the remains of animals, some of them altogether unknown even to historical tradition, and others incapable now of existing in the regions where their bones are found. The deluge is an explanation of all these wonders, to which the Christian will devoutly and satisfactorily recur, leaving comfortless infidelity to its own pathless wanderings.

The skeleton of the mammoth resembles very much that of the elephant, carrying like it two great tusks in front. The principal difference is found in the grinders; which in the elephant are flat on the top, with the enamel penetrating the whole material, but in the mammoth rise into ridges, or processes as anatomists term them, somewhat as in those of the sheep, with the enamel in the form of an outer crust or case, enveloping but not penetrating the bone. Some naturalists have supposed from this peculiarity that the mammoth was a carniverous animal; but a scientific gentleman remarks to me that this was impossible, as it has like the elephant no front teeth, and its neck is too short and its tusks too long, to have admitted of its holding and devouring its prey as carnivorous animals do. He thinks it probable that it lived upon shrubs, and the smaller branches of trees,

for crushing which, the grinders seem to be well adapted. It only occurs to me in reply to this remark, that the enormous trunk of the mammoth may have served to catch and crush the smaller animals, and convey them into the mouth. Conjecture however in such cases is both unavailing and unimportant; it is sufficient that we have in the existence of these bones unanswerable demonstration, that in earlier times an animal has existed, much more enormous in bulk than the largest that is now known to tread the surface of the globe. This skeleton which is, I believe, not so large as some others that have been found, is 11 feet high over the shoulders, and measures 31 feet from the extremity of the tusks to the end of the tail, following the curve.[6] It was found in 1801, in

[6] An attentive correspondent has been so kind as to procure and forward me the following additional particulars respecting the skeleton of the mammoth:

	Feet.	Inch.
Height over the shoulders,	11	0
——— over the hips,	9	0
Length from the chin to the rump,	15	0
From the point of the tusks to the tail, following the curve,	31	0
The same in a straight line,	17	6
Width of the body,	5	8
Length of the under jaw,	2	10
Width of the head,	3	2
Length of the thigh bone,	3	7
Smallest circumference of the same,	1	6
Length of the tibia,	2	0
Length of the humerus, or large bone of the fore leg,	2	10
Largest circumference of the same,	3	2½

a marl pit in the State of New York; others have been found near the *licks*, or salt springs, in the State of Ohio. The skeleton is nearly entire, except in the cartilaginous parts which are supplied by cork.

In contemplating the power of so colossal a limb, and the tension of the muscles which must have strung it, an impressive commentary is suggested to that singularly beautiful passage in the book of Job, "Behold now Behemoth which I have made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox! He moveth his tail like a cedar; his sinews are wrapped together. His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron. Behold he drinketh up a river and hasteth not; he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth!"

An Academy of the Fine Arts was founded

	Feet.	*Inch.*
Smallest circumférence of the same,	1	5
Length of the radius,	2	5½
Circumference round the elbow,	3	8
Length of the scapula or shoulder-blade,	3	1
Length of the longest vertebra,	2	3
Length of the first rib,	2	0
Length of the longest rib, without cartilage,	4	7
Length of the breast bone,	4	0
Length of the great tusks,	10	7
Circumference of a molaris tooth,	1	6½

	Pounds.	*Oz.*
Weight of the under jaw,	63½	0
——— of a tooth,	4	10
——— of the whole skeleton,	1000	0

here in 1805. It was shortly after incorporated by the legislature, and a building was erected with suitable apartments for study and exhibition rooms. One of the apartments contains a few specimens of antique sculpture, and casts of most of the celebrated statues. Among the modern specimens is a bust of Washington by Canova, and one of West by Chantrey. The painting room is more richly stored, and can boast, if the catalogue is correct, of several paintings by the old masters; among these are three by Titian, one by Raphael, one by Correggio, which is said to have been executed for Charles III. of Spain, and was purchased for £340, three by Rubens, one by Dominichino, one by Teniers, one by Vandyke, one by Paul Veronese, one by Rembrandt, four by Murillo, and three by Salvator Rosa. These are but a few of the old paintings, and, amongst a crowd of moderns, are some of great merit by native artists, the chief of whom appear to be Allston and Lesslie. From Allston's[7] pencil, is a beautiful picture of the dead man raised to life by touching the bones of the prophet Elisha;

[7] A writer in the North American Review claims on behalf of his country the honour of having produced the first historical painter of the present day, and this rank he assigns to Mr. Allston. 'The modern school of painting,' says he, 'bids fair to flourish among us, and that not merely from flattering pretty faces and appealing to personal vanity, but in the historic department of the art. We hope we do not go out of our way to pay a compliment to our fellow citizen, who has now founded upon a series of works, that have stood the test of English and of American criticism, the reputa-

and by Lesslie is a painting which I thought excellent, exhibiting William of Deloraine unhorsed and wounded by Lord Cranstoun. His goblin attendant has seated himself on the warrior's helmet, and opened the mysterious book to devour its contents, while an airy phantom, like the spirit of the storm, stretching downwards behind him, extends his arm to prostrate the over-curious imp by the side of the bleeding mosstrooper.

Philadelphia possesses a valuable public library containing upwards of twenty thousand volumes, and another containing about four thousand. There is also an Athenæum, although on a much smaller scale than that of Boston; it is well supplied with British periodical publications, and I have spent several hours in it very agreeably, skimming the more interesting portions of the recent journals.

In a literary point of view Philadelphia enjoys a respectable rank among American cities, but as yet Boston is far before any other. I was not a little surprised to learn by the 'Picture of Philadelphia,'

tion of being the first historical painter living. We should be glad to have the work of Cammucini at Rome, or Girard at Paris, or David at Brussels, indicated, that deserves to be preferred to Mr. Allston's Uriel, Jacob's vision, or Jeremiah. In England certainly, he has left behind him no rival in this branch of his art.' *North American Review, No. XXX. p.* 181. This is a matter respecting which there will be no doubt a difference of opinion, but if Mr. Allston's pencil so far surpasses in power those of rival artists, by all means let his country and himself enjoy the honour of it.

that in 1811 it contained fifty-one printing offices, employing one hundred and fifty-three presses, and I believe that since that period the number has increased. A considerable proportion of these must be supported by newspapers, of which there are no fewer than eight published daily, besides many once, twice, and three times a week; but after deducting what are necessary for these, there must remain a very respectable number devoted to literature of a more permanent and aspiring kind.

Philadelphia has produced the finest and most accurate specimens of typography that have yet appeared in America, and there is a decided superiority in most of the works printed here, to those executed either in Boston or New York. There are two letter foundries, and several printing press makers. The Columbian press, invented by a person of the name of Clymer a native of Philadelphia, appears to be in many respects very superior to any other that I have yet seen.[8]

Many periodical works have at various times been published here, some of which are still continued; and though their success has been in no instance equal to that which is at present enjoyed by

[8] Mr. Clymer has subsequently come over to London, and obtained a British patent for his press, which has been extensively adopted and is universally approved of. The first of them that came to Scotland has now been at work for four years in our office, where we have presses on six different constructions, but though two or three of the kinds are excellent, our workmen consider the Columbian as decidedly the best they have ever pulled. (1823.)

the North American Review, yet some of them exhibit a large proportion of respectable talent.[9] For reprints of the heavier British books, Philadelphia is quite famous. The Encyclopædia Britannica was begun in 1790, by Mr. Dobson, an enterprising countryman of ours. When the first half volume was published, of which 1000 were printed, he had but 246 subscribers; they increased however so rapidly that of volume second 2000 were thrown off; the first was soon after reprinted, and in a short time he found it extremely difficult to procure a sufficient number of printers and engravers, to carry forward the work with sufficient rapidity. Dr. Rees' larger work, and that of Dr. Brewster are at present in progress. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews are regularly reprinted at New York; and several of our other popular periodical works in different parts of the Union.

It is a mistake to suppose that books are cheaper in America than in Britain. The works of our modern authors, indeed, which at home are exclusive property, loaded with an enormous copy right, and which we can purchase only in the shape of handsome octavos or more elegant quartos, suffer here instantaneous transmutation into an humble

[9] The Analectic Magazine, published in Philadelphia, was for a considerable time edited by the elegant author of the Sketch Book, and Bracebridge Hall. Some of the papers of the former work were first published in the Analectic.

duodecimo, occasionally of most plebeian aspect, and for two dollars or less you may obtain the verbal contents of most of the Albemarle Street two guinea volumes; but in all books of which the copy right has expired, our British editions are superior in execution and accuracy and quite as low in price, as those which are published in America.

In historical engraving I have seen no specimens of American art which are very superior. Westall's illustrations of our modern poets have nearly all been copied, but there is a harshness in the engraving which contrasts very disadvantageously with the productions of Heath. In the execution of bank notes, however, Philadelphia may challenge the world. Messrs. Murray, Draper, Fairman, & Co. have distinguished themselves by some remarkably ingenious discoveries, which have been applied with singular success to this branch of the art; and their notes, which you meet with in every quarter of the Union, are distinguished by an originality of style and delicacy of execution which much surpass those of our native country, and if they do not afford a perfect protection from forgery, must at least render it exceedingly difficult.[10]

[10] A more minute account of this inimitable style of engraving might have been given, but that its appearance is now familiar to all who take any interest in such subjects; and specimens from the London establishment of Messrs. Perkins and Heath, are to be met

Philadelphia is the seat of a celebrated College. This institution was begun under the auspices of Franklin, and was originally only an academy and charity school. Material alterations were made at different periods in its management and regulations, and it was incorporated by the legislature of the State, first as the College of Philadelphia, and afterwards on a more extended scale as the University of Pennsylvania. Although respectable in other departments, this seminary is most highly celebrated as a medical school, in which respect Philadelphia is regarded as the Edinburgh of the United States.

In a religious point of view, Philadelphia though strongly characterised by the peculiarities of its quaker origin, is not so much so as I had previously imagined. The Friends are now prodigiously outnumbered by those of other persuasions, and I believe that of themselves many who retain the name of the sect, have laid aside some of the peculiarities by which the more rigid are distinguished. This is particularly the case with those of younger years;—in dress there seems to be a kind of hesitating approximation to conformity with modern taste;

with every day. Its value may be appreciated by the fact, that none have spoken so highly of it as the best engravers of our native country. The most curious and most useful part of the discovery, is that process by which metal plates of the same design may be multiplied by pressure, to any extent, and with as much facility as impressions are obtained on paper (1823).

and there are some individuals to be found, who, though careful in writing to retain the well known formula in date, address, and signature, have no objections in conversation to concede the usual courtesies of polite intercourse. Passive obedience and nonresistance have been generally esteemed essential to Quaker principles; but a considerable party in this city separated from the main body, during the Revolutionary war, in consequence of maintaining the propriety of fighting for the national independence. They still continue to be a distinct class, justifying an appeal to the sword in defence of national rights.

I was conducted one afternoon lately, by a Friend of the old school, to see their principal place of worship and burying ground. The meeting house is large and very plain, and is divided into two compartments, one for males, the other for females. My conductor remarked that in this house met the largest deliberative society in the world, in which every individual has a vote. This is on occasion of the annual meeting of the Quakers in the United States, when there are generally 1500 persons present, all of whom have an equal right of speech and suffrage.

The burying ground, behind the meeting house, is the only one of the kind that I ever saw. The surface was as level as a bowling green, excepting a small portion at one side where a few grassy hillocks indicated the mansions of the dead.

My conductor remarked that the Friends had buried in that ground since the days of Penn. The resurrection of the body, he said, formed no part of their religious belief, and they considered it improper to erect any memorial over the departed, as if any part of *the man* were buried, or to preserve a distinction between the graves of one family and those of another. In accordance with these sentiments, they begin to inter at one corner of the enclosure; and go regularly on, digging one grave by the side of the preceding one, till the whole ground has been gone over. The surface is then completely levelled, and a new series of sepulchres begun.

All this was new to me, and somewhat revolting. That the society of Friends denied the resurrection of the body, I did not previously know. Neither was I aware that they set themselves to eradicate that principle in our hearts, which leads us to cling in fondness to the remains of the departed object of our affections, and to hallow the spot where the beloved dust reposes. This is far too philosophical for me, and I cannot help thinking offers violence to one of the purest, kindliest sympathies of the human heart. It is well to discountenance the laboured, and very frequently fabulous eulogies, with which tomb-stones are so profusely bedaubed; but to plough down the field, and leave it like the sand on the sea-shore devoid of trace or memorial—to put it out of my power to say 'my friend lies there,' is to lacerate feelings

which have been cherished and honoured in all ages, by all, even the best of men. "Where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried!" "Why trouble ye the woman?" said the blessed Jesus, "she hath wrought a good work upon me; for in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial." What can suggest a more exquisitely touching picture of a bleeding heart, than these affecting words, "She is gone to the grave to weep there!" All this must be unintelligible to a Quaker, if he is really consistent in his professed belief.

I attended at the meeting house one sabbath afternoon, to see their mode of worship; the only occasion on which I ever did so. The meeting did not continue longer than an hour, and the worship was certainly in the highest sense of the word intellectual, for not an individual opened his mouth. Some wore their hats, others put them off, and the aspect of many by no means betokened any great degree of mental abstraction.

Of the principles of the majority of the sect, I have been able to learn very little; indeed it would not be easy to ascertain exactly their confession of faith. I have met with individuals who maintained very decidedly the essential doctrines of evangelical religion, but I also found others whose sentiments seemed to approach very nearly to infidelity. Their almost total neglect of public instruction must necessarily occasion, among those who think

at all, a great diversity of sentiment upon speculative subjects. Their benevolence and philanthropy, however, are as conspicuous here as every where else; the early and most successful managers of the Penitentiary were principally Quakers, and a gentleman of the same body was pointed out to me, who is one of the most efficient managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The whole civilized world owe a debt of gratitude to the Quakers, for their long and unwearied labours in the cause of general philanthropy;—and if slavery is to be abolished in this country, it will probably be effected through their instrumentality.

There are altogether nearly sixty places of worship [11] in Philadelphia; including most of the usual denominations, with some of German origin unknown in Scotland. During the few sabbaths

[11] An attentive correspondent, whose kindness I have already had occasion to acknowledge, has transmitted the following enumeration of the churches and chapels in Philadelphia, as they stood in June 1822. 12 Presbyterian, under the General Assembly, including one for Africans, and one building;—11 Methodist, including four for Africans;—9 Episcopalian, including one for Africans, and two building;—6 Baptist, including one for Africans;—5 Quakers, including one of Free Quakers, and one building;—4 Romish;—2 Reformed Dutch;—2 German Calvinists, in one of which service is conducted in the German language;—2 German Lutherans, one also adhering to the vernacular tongue;—1 Associate Reformed;—1 Reformed Presbyterian, or Covenanters;—1 Swedish Lutheran;—1 Moravian;—2 Universalist, including one building;—1 Socinian;—1 New Jerusalem;—and 2 Jewish Synagogues. Total 63, including five building.

which I have spent here, I can of course have heard but a small number of their preachers and shall be brief in my account of them.

In one of the Presbyterian churches I have been four times present. The clergyman who officiates here is rather advanced in life, of a sedate and intelligent countenance, and a spare habit of body. He possesses a considerable command of language, and in prayer much felicity of expression; he has scarcely any action, his voice is rather weak and his enunciation slow, yet earnest and impressive. He exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the Bible, a strong conviction of the importance of its truths, and a lively desire to impart instruction. On one of the occasions referred to, he lectured on the concluding verses of the ninth chapter of the Gospel by John, in connexion with the commencement of the tenth, and stated with much simplicity the grand doctrine of the atonement. At another time he delivered a very judicious discourse on the work of the Holy Spirit, and continued the illustration of the same subject, in the form of a lecture on the parable of the sower, as recorded by Mark. From the parable of the mustard seed, he discoursed on the progress of the gospel in heathen countries, and the approach of that time, when 'incense and a pure offering,' should be offered to the Lord Jesus, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

In the Associate Reformed, or Antiburgher

church, I heard an old fashioned but very good sermon, from one of our own countrymen. The service on this occasion, carried me in mind completely across the Atlantic. We had a Scotish minister, a Scotish precentor,[12] and a Scotish congregation; the discourse was delivered with a strong national accent, the psalms were of the version which is in common use at home, and were sung to some of our well known old fashioned tunes. Such a combination of circumstances, brings the recollections of 'auld lang syne' into powerful excitement; and the wandering Caledonian who could be present without a glow of kindly feeling to the whole assembly, must be fashioned of most unusual materials.

At a Baptist congregation I heard a discourse from a young divine, who there was much reason to fear had made a very unsuitable choice of a profession. He was however only a temporary occupant of the pulpit. The regular pastor, whom I afterwards heard, is a man of good talents and so far as I could judge correct doctrinal sentiments, but there was a degree of mannerism in his reading and speaking, which strongly recalled certain lines of Cowper's which I shall forbear to quote. I heard him lecture on the first and second chapters of Ezra, when he illustrated the historical narrative in a very instructive manner; he afterwards

[12] *Anglice*, Clerk.

expounded with great success those most important words, 'If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.' I wished very much to have heard one of the African preachers who is highly spoken of, but for want of a proper guide I failed in my attempt to find his church.

I have visited two Sabbath schools in Philadelphia. One of these meets between sermons, and is devoted to instruction in reading. The other assembles in the evening, and is devoted entirely to religious instruction. In the course of my wanderings in the United States, I met with no Sabbath school excepting this and the one at New Haven which at all resembled the Scotish ones. The scholars in this are chiefly of females; they are divided into several classes, two of which are taught by ladies, and the others by young men. The principal deficiency that I observed in the management was the allowing each scholar to please herself, both as to the passage which she prepared, and as to the length of it. Experience proves that this system is essentially prejudicial to the improvement of the scholars, who should all have a prescribed exercise, and so far as possible the same one. A considerable degree of attention and diligence was apparent among the scholars; though as in all American schools, rather more latitude of speech and behaviour prevailed among them than is altogether beneficial.

Philadelphia I should be inclined to think, is

scarcely so cheerful a place of residence as New York. Whether I may have been led to this opinion from having spent a shorter time in it, or from the greater prevalence of Quaker manners, or from some other accidental cause, I shall not pretend to determine. The surrounding country is very beautiful, and there are many pleasant villas and flourishing little towns upon the banks of both rivers.

At Bordentown, twenty-six miles above the city on the west bank of the Delaware, is the seat of the ex-King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, who has assumed the title of Count de Survilliers. I saw his house,[13] as the steam boat passed down the river, rising on the brow of a hill surrounded on all sides with a dense forest of pines. The view

[13] This house has since I left America fallen a prey to fire, and some valuable pictures and statues perished in the flames. The inhabitants of the neighbouring village having been very active in attempting to save the costly furniture, the Count shortly after addressed a letter of thanks to them through the newspapers. The ex-King however was in novel circumstances in addressing his republican neighbours, and his letter as might have been expected, partook more of the gracious style of the sovereign than the grateful tone of the citizen. He assured them with some degree of pomposity that he regarded the scupulous honesty and undaunted courage which had characterized their exertions, as proofs that the inhabitants of Bordentown 'properly appreciated the interest which he had always felt for them.' A somewhat saucy reply speedily appeared in which the Count was informed that they held his benignant smiles very cheap, and that in giving him their assistance during the fire, they were actuated by the common impulses of humanity and nothing more.

from the windows must be very commanding, and as he surveys it, what a contrast of ideas must crowd upon his mind! Paris — Madrid — the banks of the Delaware;—the brother of Napoleon—the King of Spain—the obscure American recluse! How singularly happy may be the evening of his eventful life, if in the stillness of this retirement, he should be led rightly to meditate on that futurity where an existence awaits him more glorious or more dreadful than all that he has yet known. At Trenton, four miles above Bordentown, was the seat of General Moreau, while in this country. His stables are seen close by the road. On the banks of the Schuylkill General Vandamme, another conspicuous name in the annals of recent events, has a very fine villa. He has had the good sense to withdraw from European broils, but if one half of what has been told of him be true, he merited a very different termination to his history.

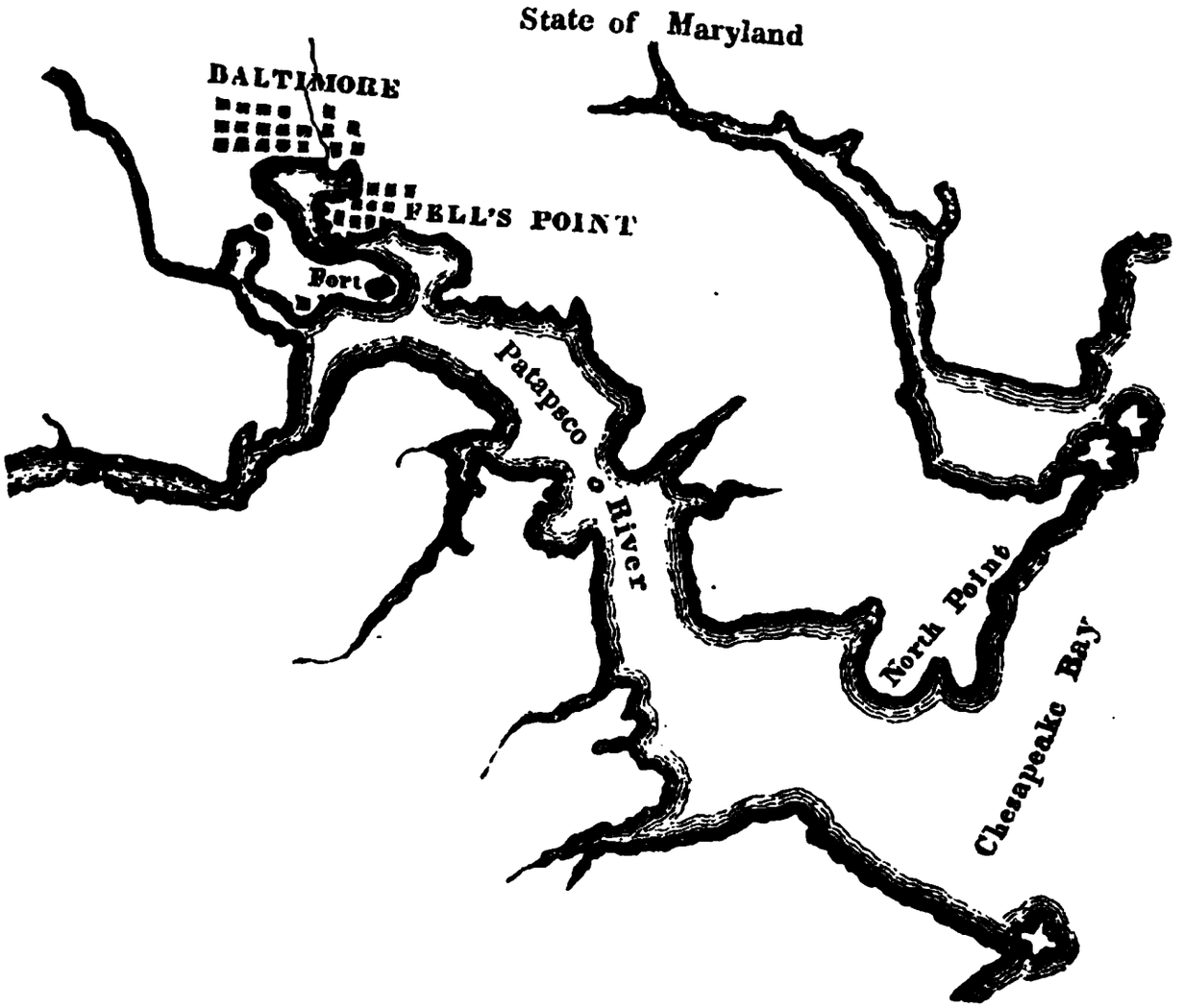
There are several very large wooden bridges across the Schuylkill, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Most of them have three arches, but near the water works there is one of a single arch, 340 feet 9 inches in span. The river is here forty feet deep, and the sinking of piers would have been a hopeless undertaking. This bridge, like most others in this country, is roofed over and closed in at the sides, with small openings like windows for the admission of light. The roof is use-

ful not only in preserving the bridge from the influence of the weather, but also in compacting the fabric, but it gives the bridge a heavy look without and a gloomy appearance within. These roofed bridges exhibit a style of architecture which is unknown in our native country. Overhead a massy frame work binds the whole edifice together; sometimes immense hoops bending from beam to beam suspend the various arches, each hoop composed of six or eight enormous planks laid surface to surface and bound together by iron bolts; in others the floor is suspended by massy chains or iron rods, descending from upright beams. Strong however as these bridges appear to be, the autumnal floods and the breaking up of the ice in spring are frequently fatal to them; in the month of May last I was ferried across two rivers, close by the ruins of extensive bridges which had been recently swept away.

Two unsuccessful attempts have been made by the citizens of Philadelphia to cut a canal between the Schuylkill and the Susquehanna; with the intention of gradually completing a water communication between the Delaware and the great western lakes. In these abortive efforts upwards of fifty thousand pounds sterling have been fruitlessly expended. The failure however seems to have arisen rather from mismanagement, than from any impracticability in the scheme. The example of New York has given a new stimulus to canal enter-

prize, and probably future travellers may have to commemorate that the State of Pennsylvania has been equally successful. Baltimore has good reason to deprecate such a result, as it would most probably divert to the Delaware much of the inland and foreign trade which at present flows into the Chesapeake.

LETTER VIII.


State of Maryland
BALTIMORE
FELL'S POINT
Fort
Patapsco River
North Point
Chesapeake Bay

LETTER VIII.

BALTIMORE—STREETS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS—ROMISH CATHEDRAL — SOCINIAN CHAPEL — WASHINGTON'S MONUMENT — BATTLE MONUMENT — FORT M'HENDRY — BOMBARDMENT — FELL'S POINT—PRIVATEER SCHOONERS—DEATH OF GENERAL ROSS—MILITARY REVIEW — EXECUTION — PENITENTIARY — HOSPITAL—COLLEGES—LANCASTERIAN SCHOOL—FLOUR MILL — REPUBLICAN CONTEST FOR SHERIFFALTY — CHURCHES—SERMONS—SABBATH SCHOOLS—HOSPITALITY OF THE INHABITANTS.

Baltimore, September, 1818.

BALTIMORE is built at the top of a small bay in the river Patapsco, near its entrance into the Chesapeake, and consists of two portions, nearly a mile asunder; the upper of which is properly speaking the town, and the lower called Fell's Point is the harbour. The water comes up to the town but it is shallow and in general none but coasters go past the Point. The bay is formed and protected by a peninsular tongue of land which stretches downwards into the river; the entrance is narrow and is completely commanded by a fort, which sustained a heavy bombardment during last war.

The town is built with considerable regularity, upon portions of three hills and their intervening

valleys; many of the streets cross each other at right angles, and they are in general spacious and well paved. A large proportion of the buildings are of brick; the more ancient, in consequence of inattention to painting, have rather a gloomy aspect, but the modern ones resemble in every respect those of New York and Philadelphia.

In public buildings Baltimore aspires to distinction, but some of the most considerable are as yet only in progress. A massy brick edifice which is intended for an Exchange has been roofed in; externally it is remarkable for dimensions rather than elegance, and of its internal appearance I can say nothing. Two new churches are going forward, the one destined to be a Romish Cathedral the other a Socinian Chapel. They stand very near each other, rather above the city, and as yet a considerable space is open around them. The style of the respective buildings strikes me as somewhat appropriate to the system which it has been erected to support.

The Cathedral is built of dark coloured stone in the form of a cross, with a dome over the centre, but the length is not nearly so great as in our ancient churches; the walls and roof are finished and a shoal of Irish labourers are busied on the interior. It is rather singular that they have not attempted the Gothic in this building; probably the great expense of that style may have been the cause of the Roman Doric being preferred. The

principal entrances are arched, and a few pilasters carried round the walls are its principal ornament; the size and disposition of the windows, with the crossing of the transept, have been so managed as to throw into the body of the church a strong depth of shadow, the holy gloom of which will doubtless be esteemed highly conducive to genuine religious emotion, and which at least we must grant to be no way inappropriate in that ritual, of which the burning of candles forms so important a portion.

The Socinian Chapel, a more lightsome and tasteful fabric, is nearly finished, and although not a large building is said to have cost upwards of twenty thousand pounds sterling. In front is an arched portico, and in the tympanum of the pediment is a *stucco* angel descending from a cloud; the walls are covered externally with composition, lined and painted to resemble stone. The interior is profusely decorated. The pulpit is of polished marble of various colours, with a baptismal font before it of the same material; upon the wall behind are two white marble slabs, resembling the tables of the Law in the ancient pictures of Moses, upon which are inscribed a few texts of Scripture.[1] The

[1] I noted these passages in my memorandum book and subjoin them for the gratification of enquirers. The one table bore in full length 1 Tim. i. 17. Phil. iv. 6. Mark xii. 29. Matth. v. 16. 2 Tim. ii. 19:—the other John xvii. 3. Matth. vii. 12. Heb. xii. 1, 2. and xi. 14.

ends of the pews are beautifully carved and bronzed in imitation of the antique. The ceiling is covered with rich stuccoed work, and in the gallery is a large organ the front of which is very tastefully finished in the form of the ancient lyre. The effect of the whole is certainly very splendid; but the more splendid it is, the more must we regret the purpose for which so costly an edifice has been erected.

Two public monuments have been recently begun; the one to Washington, the other to commemorate the attack on the city during last war, and to record the names of those who fell in its defence. Washington's monument occupies the front of a rising ground a little above the city; the other the centre of a square within it.

The name and the deeds of Washington stand so conspicuously pre-eminent in the history of this nation, that to rear a suitable monument to his fame must be a matter of no trifling difficulty. The structure must be magnificent and durable, above all ordinary edifices, which aspires to outshine or outlast the splendour of his name. Probably this is one reason why no national monument has hitherto been erected to the Father of American liberty. The Baltimore one is the first of an architectural kind that has been attempted. Two statues however are in progress; one by Canova to be placed in the State House of Raleigh, the

capital of North Carolina, the other by Chantrey for the town of Boston.[2]

The Baltimore monument is a plain column rising from a square base, to be surmounted by a colossal statue by some artist whose name I have not heard. The work has advanced as yet but a short way, so that it is impossible to form a correct idea of the ultimate effect; the situation however is commanding and it must eventually form a conspicuous object in the distant prospect. The fabric is brick within, and white marble without, with a spiral staircase in the centre. No loop holes have been left for the admission of light; the stair is consequently very dark, and when the column attains to its full height will be somewhat disagreeable to ascend.

[2] A writer in the North American Review thus writes with regard to these rival statues and their sculptors. "With respect to this statue, the only work of Canova, as far as we are aware, which our country can boast, if indeed it has already reached Raleigh, we can speak only of the model in clay. The likeness is certainly not strong, and the artist complained of the want of materials to deduce it from; a circumstance the more to be regretted, as no countenance is better ascertained than Washington's, and if materials were not put into his hands, it could not be because they do not exist. We apprehend, moreover, that the costume of the statue will not suit the American taste. Gen. Washington is represented sitting, with a tablet supported by his left hand, on which he is about to write the constitution of America, with a style which he holds in his right. Though thus occupied as a civil legislator, he is clad in the Roman military dress with the brazen cuirass, half of the thigh, the knees and legs bare, and military sandals. It seems to us that this dress is in itself unbecoming, besides being inconsistent with the legislative or

The Battle Monument is also of white marble, but much smaller. It consists of a reeded column with a crossed fillet at the top and bottom, erected upon a square base tapering in the Egyptian style and rusticated. The shaft is not unlike the Roman fasces, without the axe; one side of the base exhibits a door, which in a very hot day suggests the luxurious idea of an ice house; the other sides contain slabs on which are to be inscribed the names of all those who fell in defence of their 'altars and hearths,' as the helmets of our yeomanry express it. The operations on this erection are for the present suspended; the base has been built, and the materials for the column lie scattered around it, but the carved blocks are still in the packing frames in which they were brought

civil occupation represented. The only costume that we can imagine less becoming than the ancient military dress, is the modern military dress, the hussar boots, faced coat, and hair clubbed up with pomatum, in which we understand Mr. Chantrey will dress Gen. Washington in the statue designed for Boston, according to the theory of the English School, which enjoins the closest possible imitation of nature, and adherence to historical truth. Neither of these principles is just in the art. Nature is to be imitated, only in her noble, select, and pleasing parts, and historical truth adhered to no further than it adds to the beauty, grandeur, and charm of the work; provided that the deviation be not such as to shock our judgments. Look at the statue of the Queen before St. Paul's in her hoop and toupet. We would have had Gen. Washington's statue in the true classical dress, the ancient civil senatorial robe, call it Roman or Greek, alike removed from the indelicate bareness of the Roman armour, and the fantastical cuts and folds of our modern tailoring." *North American Review, No. XXVII. p.* 385

from Italy. In architectural design this monument is so perfectly anomalous that we cannot but regret its premature erection; in a few years, probably, the citizens will learn to regard it with the same feelings which are now excited by the Edinburgh monument to Nelson. Its situation however is well chosen, the material is beautiful, and so far as these go even strangers will regard it as an ornament to the city. The event which it commemorates will always secure it the affections of the natives.

Fort M'Hendry at the end of the peninsula saved the town from capture during last war, although it was then but ill prepared for an attack; the batteries were in a poor condition, it had no covered ways, and the magazine was not bomb-proof. A shell struck the corner of the magazine in a slanting direction, and shattered the wall; had it penetrated, the capture of the fort would have been inevitable. Since that period the works have been greatly strengthened, and bomb-proof barracks, covered ways, and magazines, have all been erected. The fortification is of a pentagonal form, and consists of an inner and outer line of batteries. The inner line is of brick and is mounted with the lighter guns; the outer breastwork is of turf and the guns are of a large size. Between the lines are furnaces for heating shot. The old walls still exhibit the scars of the attack, and several deep

hollows in the ground show where shells had buried themselves.

Behind the principal fort are two small batteries at a short distance from each other. The British squadron sent out a detachment of boats during the night, hoping to effect a landing behind Fort M'Hendry, which they succeeded in passing unobserved; not aware that there were other batteries beyond it, the sailors set up a premature shout of triumph, which immediately brought down upon them an unexpected cannonade; several of the boats were sunk and the rest compelled to return.

Fell's Point is like other sea ports somewhat dirty; and the yellow fever when it was prevalent, committed great ravages here, while Baltimore was comparatively healthy. In the harbour at present is a beautiful sharp built schooner, evidently intended for warlike purposes, and pretty well known to be fitted out for the coast of South America; she will carry about a dozen of guns. The Baltimore ship builders particularly excel in the construction of such vessels, and it was their astonishing fleetness of sailing which enabled the privateers to pick up so many of our merchantmen during last war. They are very low in the water, and broad in the beam; the masts are sloped very much backwards, and they sail exceedingly close to the wind. Very few of them were captured by our cruisers, and those generally in consequence of some accident. Two instances of this kind I

have heard of. A very fine privateer brig of this description left New York on her first cruize, the weather was very foggy, and at no great distance from Sandy Hook she descried a pretty large vessel which she supposed was a merchantman; she of course ran down upon it with all speed, but discovered when it was too late that the anticipated prize was a British seventy-four gun ship:—the crew were constrained to surrender without firing a gun. Another privateer of a similar description, happened to fall in at sea with one of our large frigates; trusting to her superiority of sailing she made no haste to get out of the way, but tacked about till the frigate had got nearly within gun shot, when she stretched upon the wind and bore off. Out of the frigate's reach she again lay to, awaiting her pursuit; at that critical moment the wind which had hitherto blown pretty fresh died suddenly away, and her sails flapped against the masts, the frigate's boats were instantly manned, the privateer lay in helpless inactivity on the water, resistance was in vain, and the fable of the hare and the tortoise was again realized.

The harbour of Baltimore presents I understand but a very dull scene now to what it once did. During the European continental war, when America engrossed the carrying trade of nearly the whole world, a flourishing commerce crowded the harbour with vessels, and the custom-house with business; but Mr. Madison's proclamation of war was

the signal for its ruin, and the termination of hostilities in Europe having left other nations at liberty to claim their share in the interchange of commodities, the quays are now half deserted, and the store-houses comparatively empty. As the United States however recover from their present mercantile difficulties, and as the back country becomes more thickly settled, the increasing demand for foreign produce and manufactures must by degrees bring back the good old times, when Fell's Point was crowded with merchantmen, and the storekeepers of Baltimore exulted in the dimensions of their ledgers.

Eastward from the town is yet to be seen the breastwork of turf which was hastily thrown up when General Ross landed to attack it. The rifle of some expert marksman was the means of saving Baltimore on this occasion. It might seem that an individual bullet could be of but little avail as to the result of a battle—it can kill but a man; but when that man is a commanding officer, and such an officer as Ross, the bullet that kills him is decisive of the day. In the defence of a difficult pass, a wood, or an entrenched post, the American backwoodsmen are unequalled; they can with difficulty be got to stand in open ground, and have no confidence in battalion movements, but give them the stump of a tree, a fence, or a hillock of earth, over which they can level their piece, and the youngest boy among them will ply the work of

destruction with a deliberate certainty of aim, which is disastrous in the last degree to the battalions of the enemy. It is not known who killed General Ross; common report attributes the effective shot to some one of a few lads who were posted behind a bush, but one of the most opulent citizens, a Scotsman by birth, who with the rest shouldered his musket on the occasion, tells me on the authority of the general who commanded, that no reliance can be placed on that report.

This important event took place on the twelfth of September, and I was the other day present at a review, which annually commemorates the successful defence of the town. As I am no way skilled in military tactics, I cannot pretend to criticise the evolutions which I saw. The young men belonging to the town wear in general a blue uniform, and make a creditable appearance; the country militia wear no uniform at all, and have a very *tag-rag-and-bobtail* kind of aspect. The day was excessively hot, and some of them marched to the field in their shirt sleeves, where blackened with dust, perspiration and powder, they presented a somewhat ferocious appearance. A small body of sharpshooters were on the field in a dark grey uniform, which had a remarkably neat appearance; we are accustomed to green for this description of troops, but I doubt whether the grey will not in general answer the purpose of obscurity and concealment fully as well. On the flanks were sta-

tioned some companies of artillery, at right angles to the main line; and the contrast which different battalions exhibited was no where more conspicuous than among them. I was highly amused with a corps of old fellows who strongly reminded me of the Edinburgh city guard, while it was yet in being; they wore long tailed coats and cocked hats, and their hair was larded with pomatum and powder. The working of their guns was a serious business; there was a sad chasing of each other for a cartridge, much prompting and directing about thrusting it in, and to fire and sponge were works of undisguised danger and difficulty. An unfortunate position made their awkwardness still more conspicuous, for close beside them were posted the 'Independent Blues,' a body of trimly dressed, active young fellows, who handled the rammer and the linstock with exemplary dexterity, and if the rules of good breeding and military discipline had not prevented them, would have fired at least two shots for one of the venerables' beside them. The troops paraded at ten o'clock in the morning, and did not leave the ground till four in the afternoon; they had an hour's interval however at noon, and there were on the ground numerous itinerant venders of peaches, pastry, and soda water.

I witnessed since my arrival here, a spectacle of a different kind, and one that is more rarely seen in the United States, the execution of two men for

mail-robbery. Flagrant as this offence is esteemed among us it is not a capital crime here, unless when accomplished by the aid of deadly weapons, or with such a show of violence as may put those who travel with the mail in fear of their lives. In the present instance the lives of the driver and passengers had been threatened, and as the perpetrators were old and notorious offenders, the law was allowed to take its course.[3]

Baltimore prison is built on a sloping ground rather out of town, and has a large open court yard, every part of which is well seen from different parts of the rising ground which environ the city. The gallows was erected within the yard and the hills around were covered with spectators. I am no frequenter of such scenes, yet I was desirous of witnessing the effect of so unusual and tragic an occurrence on an American assembly. On reaching

[3] Robbery of the mail is very frequent in the United States; yet all things considered, not so much so as might be expected. Remittances from one part of the Union to another, even of large sums, are generally made by transmitting bank notes in letters by the Post Office; scarcely a mail bag is made up for any of the larger cities, which does not contain in this way large sums of money. The mail is totally unprotected; there is no guard, and the driver carries no arms. In the more frequented roads the bag is now carried in a kind of boot under the driver's seat, but in the country it is tossed carelessly into the bottom of the stage waggon, to annoy with trunks and portmanteaus the feet of the passengers. On one occasion while travelling in one of these vehicles, I observed a cut in the bag beside me, large enough to admit a man's hand.

the brow of one of the hills, soon after the unhappy men had been turned off, I found every commanding position covered with spectators. The multitude seemed to differ from what a similar catastrophe calls forth at home, chiefly in the superior respectability of their appearance. There were plenty of all classes, but a decidedly large proportion were well dressed, and females of various ages, and apparently all conditions, were not wanting. It was manifest that curiosity is quite as active a principle here as at home; and that an American crowd as well as a British one is powerfully influenced by that singular characteristic of our nature, a fondness for tragic spectacles. The distance at which I and those around me stood, prevented us from seeing very plainly the more minute circumstances of the work of death, but the general aspect of the 'gallows tree' did not, it was obvious, excite very keen feelings of commiseration for the sufferers; the spectators gazed towards the fatal spot, pretty much as they would have done had it been an eclipse of the moon or a house on fire.[4] I had in my pocket a small perspective glass, which I offered to two young ladies who happened to stand near me; they seemed quite pleased with the accommodation, and continued to use it alternately till the whole of the melancholy scene

[4] A fair 'Englishwoman' sketches a remarkably different picture of an American execution; perhaps the variation in our stories may have arisen from her never having seen one.

was over. The bodies on being cut down were immediately buried in the corner of the prison yard.

A visit to the Penitentiary of Baltimore, has suggested no remark upon the system which I have not already made. The condition of the prisoners is perfectly comfortable, and to judge from their appearance you would suppose them quite contented with it; they show to visitors the various articles of manufacture in which they are employed, and explain the steps in the process with as much willingness as ordinary workmen, and without any symptoms of shame that they should be found in such a place. There are at present about 360 prisoners, two of whom are Scotsmen; a third died a few days ago. The keeper informed me that one of them evinced a strong desire to save his country the disgrace connected with his delinquency, for when first examined he called himself a native of North Carolina.

The Hospital is a large building a short way out of town, and is said to be under excellent management. A splendid collection of anatomical models in wax is exhibited in it, at the charge of a dollar for each visitor; the admission price is high, but it is in fact a contribution to the funds of the institution, and is therefore cheerfully paid. The nature of the figures is not such as to invite a minute description of them, but they appear to be very beautifully executed.

The State of Maryland has all along been distinguished by a sedulous attention to the advancement of learning; and for several years considerable sums of money have been annually voted by the legislature for the support of schools and colleges. In all these appropriations it is an express and honourable stipulation that no distinction shall be made in favour of any religious sect, but that both the management and the benefit of the institutions shall be free to persons of every denomination. In 1807 a Medical College was founded here, and in 1812 its charter was extended so as to embrace the other departments of science and literature; it then received the appellation of the University of Maryland. As yet the medical department is the only one which has been brought into operation. There is also an older College, called St. Mary's, which though a Romish establishment, is said to have educated some of the first literary men in the United States; it was not empowered to confer literary Degrees till 1805. It is mentioned as a proof of the liberality of the conductors, that no religious test is required at this institution, either for admission or for a degree; but probably not the less danger is to be apprehended from this circumstance. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* Voluntarily to prevent Protestants from coming under their influence, was never the system of Papists; it is much more characteristic of their policy to receive with professions of liber-

ality all who offer, and then to put in operation their proselyting skill.[5]

A school is conducted here on the Lancasterian plan, which contains about three hundred children. I thought on visiting it, that the teacher's manner to his pupils, was most unnecessarily harsh and repulsive; and, although their proficiency appeared to be creditable, that more might be effected by one who knew how to conciliate the affections of those over whom he ruled. I understand that a change is not improbable, for the pedagogue is discontented with the amount of his salary, although it is equal to that of a Professor in most of the colleges.[6]

Baltimore is celebrated for the fineness of its flour; the superiority of which arises from the perfection at which they have arrived in the machinery by which it is manufactured. I have recently visited a mill driven by steam, in which manual labour is so completely excluded, that the sailor who delivers the grain at the wharf is the last person who applies his hand to it, till it descends into the barrel in the shape of superfine flour. It is difficult to convey a proper idea of machinery without the aid of drawings, but I trust you will be able to

[5] For farther information respecting the state of education in Maryland, and other parts of the United States, the Reader is referred to an article in the North American Review, No. XXXIII.

[6] The individual alluded to left Baltimore soon after my last visit to it.

comprehend the following rude outline of the process. A covered trough which projects from the mill to the edge of the wharf, receives the grain as it is emptied from the vessel; within this trough is an axle revolving longitudinally, around which are thin pieces of wood projecting into the trough, and continued along in a spiral line. As the revolution of the screw of Archimedes raises water, so this axle by revolving among the grain forces it backward in a regular current from the wharf to the mill. The grain on reaching the inner end of this trough is received into a succession of little tin buckets, which are strung upon an endless belt revolving upon two wheels, the higher of which is in the garret floor. As these buckets turn over the upper wheel they empty their contents into a box, from which the grain is conveyed to the fanners, where it is thoroughly cleaned. From the fanners it is conducted into the hoppers, in the floor below; here eight pairs of stones are kept constantly at work. From the stones the flour descends into a long wooden trough, similar to that into which the grain was first thrown; and another spiral screw, revolving here, urges it gradually forward to another series of buckets, which carry it to an upper story, and discharge it under a machine for cooling it. This consists of a spindle revolving perpendicularly, with a horizontal shaft crossing it near the floor, in the under part of which are teeth formed of thin slips of wood, which nearly touch

the floor, and which are so disposed in relation to each other, that while they stir the flour round, they at the same time convey it inwards to the centre. The flour is thus spread thinly over the floor, and as the teeth revolve among it, it describes circles successively smaller and smaller, until it falls through an opening into the bolting machines in the story below. Here are three bolting cylinders, producing the various degrees of common, fine, and superfine flour; and from them it is finally received into barrels, ready for inspection and shipping. This mill manufactures with ease a thousand bushels a day; and the flour which it produces, always commands an advance on the average market price.

The essentially republican constitution of this country, is daily forced upon a stranger's observation in various ways. At present a vigorous competition is going forward in this city, for the office of Sheriff;—I copy the following advertisements from the newspapers:—

"SHERIFFALTY.

"Samuel Merryman offers himself to his fellow citizens as a candidate for the office of Sheriff, for Baltimore city and county, at the ensuing election. Having been employed as deputy Sheriff, by William Merryman and John Chalmers, Esquires, during their respective terms of service, his experience justifies the hope that he will be found capable of performing the duties of that important station; and he pledges himself to do so with impartiality and diligence, if elected."

Immediately under this address appears the following:—

"SHERIFFALTY.

"The subscriber, at the instance of a number of his friends, offers himself as a candidate for the Sheriffalty of Baltimore county, and respectfully solicits the suffrages of his fellow citizens. He has for some time past been employed, and still remains in the employ of the present Sheriff, and flatters himself he will be capable of giving general satisfaction, in the discharge of the several duties of the office.

JOHN STITCHER."

The claims of these rival candidates seem so equally balanced, that the independent electors might chance to find themselves in the same condition as the animal between the two bundles of straw; but here comes a third, with more formidable qualifications, and I should not be at all surprised to learn that he carries his point, against both Messrs. Merryman and Stitcher:—

"SHERIFFALTY.

"INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE.

"The subscriber begs leave respectfully to offer himself to the consideration of the voters of the city and county of Baltimore, at the ensuing election, as a candidate for the office of Sheriff. For the information of his fellow citizens, (friends he has none, nor ever had any,) he would state, that he is in political principles independent of either party; in religion a Christian; in moral character an honest man; and by profession, an artist whose business it is to shorten the fire-wood of his neighbours, without the use of axe—vulgarly called a wood sawer.

"Although he is aware, that there are men who will refuse their support on account of his occupation, yet he believes that a majority of his enlightened fellow citizens will rather look at the man, than the sawer—at the abilities, than the coat that covers them. And al-

though he cannot boast of having been in the employment of the Sheriff, yet he flatters himself that his qualifications for the office would not suffer by a comparison with either of his competitors. Should he succeed in obtaining a majority of the suffrages of his fellow citizens, he pledges himself to fulfil the duties incumbent on the Sheriff of Baltimore County, with impartiality and fidelity.

JAMES MOONEY."

A wood sawer in America, is scarcely a step higher in the scale of society than a coal porter is with us; the occupation is a cleaner one, but otherwise they appear to be pretty much upon a level. His occupation is to cut fire wood into the proper length for burning, and to carry it from the street into the yards or dwelling houses of his employers. The joke however does not end here. An advertisement appeared a few days after those which I have quoted, intimating that the rival candidates would, on a particular evening, publicly address their fellow citizens in support of their respective claims to their suffrages. This, it is said, must have been inserted by some wag, who wished to amuse himself and his fellow citizens at the expense of the aspirants for popular favour; yet the requisition operated imperatively on the appearance of the candidates, for had any one of them declined the wordy contest, it would probably have so displeased the independent electors, as to nullify completely his chance of success. I attended under the piazza of the market place, to hear the speeches; day light was gone, but a few candle ends were stuck against the wall, and by the faint light which they

afforded I saw an orator elevated somewhat above the crowd of auditors, and haranguing away very much to their satisfaction, as their frequent shouts and cheers testified. I could not get near enough to understand the topics of discourse, or his mode of illustrating them; nor could I learn whether or not the wood sawer was the declaimer, but the word *wotes* once or twice reached my ear, from which it was evident, that he kept well in view the main object of his thus essaying the art of Demosthenes. [7]

The aspect of Baltimore in religious matters, is upon the whole a gratifying one. The Popish cathedral and college, and the Socinian chapel, must have suggested to you that error is not wanting; but it is gratifying to be assured that its influence is not paramount. Many are to be found here who have not bowed the knee to Baal; and faithful pastors who are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, nor indolent in proclaiming and defending it.

Notwithstanding the magnificence of the Socinian chapel, the sect I understand is not numerous. A few individuals are wealthy, and sanguine in their expectation, that the splendour of the building, and the philosophical character of the worship, will induce persons of cultivated taste to flock to their standard. Those with whom religion

[7] Such a scene as this, is peculiar to the southern part of the country; in most of the northern and eastern States advertising for office is unknown.

is a matter of taste, may perhaps so choose to manifest their claim to it; but so long as they thus legislate between God and their own consciences, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what place they profess to worship him.

Of the disciples of the church of Rome, the number is much greater; for Maryland is, as regards the United States, the head quarters of popery. It was indeed originally a popish colony, established by the efforts of George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a nobleman who having become a convert to the Romish faith, after filling offices of high political trust under James the First of England, relinquished his situation at court, and turned his attention to the establishment of this colony. He showed however by the laws which he promulgated, that he continued free from one of the most odious characteristics of popery; religious liberty was established and maintained in its fullest extent, so much so, that when the Quakers were persecuted in New England, and the Puritans in Virginia, both found an asylum in Maryland, in which they enjoyed unfettered liberty of conscience and of worship.

During my residence here I have attended worship with congregations of various denominations. In two Episcopalian churches, the contrast as to doctrine and ceremonial was as great as can be well supposed. In the first I heard a discourse from a passage in the apocryphal book of

Ecclesiasticus:—"Fear not the sentence of death." The sermon to which this was a prelude, was, I am sorry to say as apocryphal in its doctrine as in its text. God speaking by an inspired prophet has said, "their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men,"—a passage too appropriately applicable in the present instance. The interior of the church in which this clergyman officiates is very splendid; rows of Corinthian columns support the roof and galleries, and a great deal of gilding and decoration is lavished around. Some rags of popery are unfortunately interspersed—*Laus Deo*, for instance, upon the organ, and I. H. S. encircled by rays upon the back of the pulpit.

The other Episcopal church was as remarkable for plainness as this for decoration; not that it was of the 'barn order' of architecture, as an English traveller is said to have wittily remarked of some of our Scotish churches, but it was free from much of the tinsel finery which is so often seen. The clergyman and the service were both equally distinguished by their adherence to simplicity. The minister in a black gown went at once into the pulpit, where he read prayers and delivered his sermon, without conforming to the usual but unmeaning ceremonial of changing his robes. When the sermon was finished, he offered up an extemporaneous prayer, of considerable length and great devotional fervour. To complete the exter-

nal characteristics of this congregation, they have no organ,[7] or instrumental music of any kind; a choir is placed in front of the gallery which leads the singing, and the congregation pretty generally unite in it. These variations from customary form in Episcopalian worship, are favourable symptoms of the spirituality of the congregation, and its pastor; and I am most happy to add, that the discourses which I heard delivered from the pulpit, were in the strictest sense of the word evangelical; the grand truth of the gospel that "Jesus died for sinners and rose again for their justification," was perspicuously stated and powerfully enforced. I have heard this minister on various occasions, and the opinion which I first formed respecting him has been strengthened by every subsequent discourse. He expounds the scriptures in an instructive and convincing manner, and the doctrine of the cross is the leading topic of his illustration. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," was his text on one occasion; and on another he addressed us from that passage in the prophet Isaiah, "Behold ye that kindle a fire and compass yourselves about with sparks; walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow!"

[7] It is not without some degree of regret that I have learned that an organ has been subsequently introduced. (1822.)

from which he proclaimed a loud alarm to unbelievers, grounded on the certainty and awfulness of future punishment.

The ministrations of this worthy and zealous pastor are not confined to the Sabbath. On Wednesday evening he has a meeting for prayer, in a large room near his church, at which a very considerable number attend. I did not hear of this till I had but one Wednesday to spend here, and have of course been but once present. At this meeting nearly all the formalities of Episcopalianism were excluded; the prayer book was not introduced, and excepting that the assembly kneeled during prayer, there was nothing from which any one could have guessed at the denomination to which it belonged. After a fervent prayer, the minister addressed us from the words of Hosea, "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help!"—the address was a faithful and affectionate exhortation to Christians to recollect what by nature and practice they were, and in whom their hope was found. On concluding the address he called by name on one of the members of his congregation to pray; after prayer the females present sang a hymn, the minister then named another person, who also prayed; a second hymn was sung, and the blessing was pronounced.

The spirit of the discourse which I heard in the Presbyterian church, was, I regret to say, very inconsistent with the scriptural statement that

"there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," but the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth. The preacher virtually set aside the doctrines of original depravity, regeneration and atonement; not indeed by in so many words denying them, but by inculcating sentiments which were utterly subversive of their belief.

The pastor of the church in connexion with the Associate Synod, I have heard several times with much pleasure. "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," was selected as a text, from which he successfully refuted the reasonings of those who make mere morality, and personal reformation, the ground of a sinner's hope. On a communion Sabbath he illustrated, from the words in the Song, "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine," the intimate and endearing connexion which exists between Christ and his church, and the consequent obligation under which every member of it is placed, to exhibit in all his conduct the influence of that spiritual union, without which he is altogether dead. The number of church members is not very great; a row of tables was placed down the centre passage, and they were only twice filled. Those who first sat down were addressed by the pastor, who then seated himself as a communicant at the second distribution, at which another minister presided.

At the Baptist church I have been once present. The pastor is a native of France, who speaks the

English language with tolerable correctness, but not without a considerable tinge of his vernacular idiom and pronunciation. He selected as his text, "This child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel;" and if his discourse was not characterized by any great degree of talent, it was as I thought scriptural in doctrine.

The Cameronian or Reformed Presbyterian congregation is a small one, but a young and zealous minister of very considerable talent has been recently appointed over it, under whom it is not improbable that the number will increase.

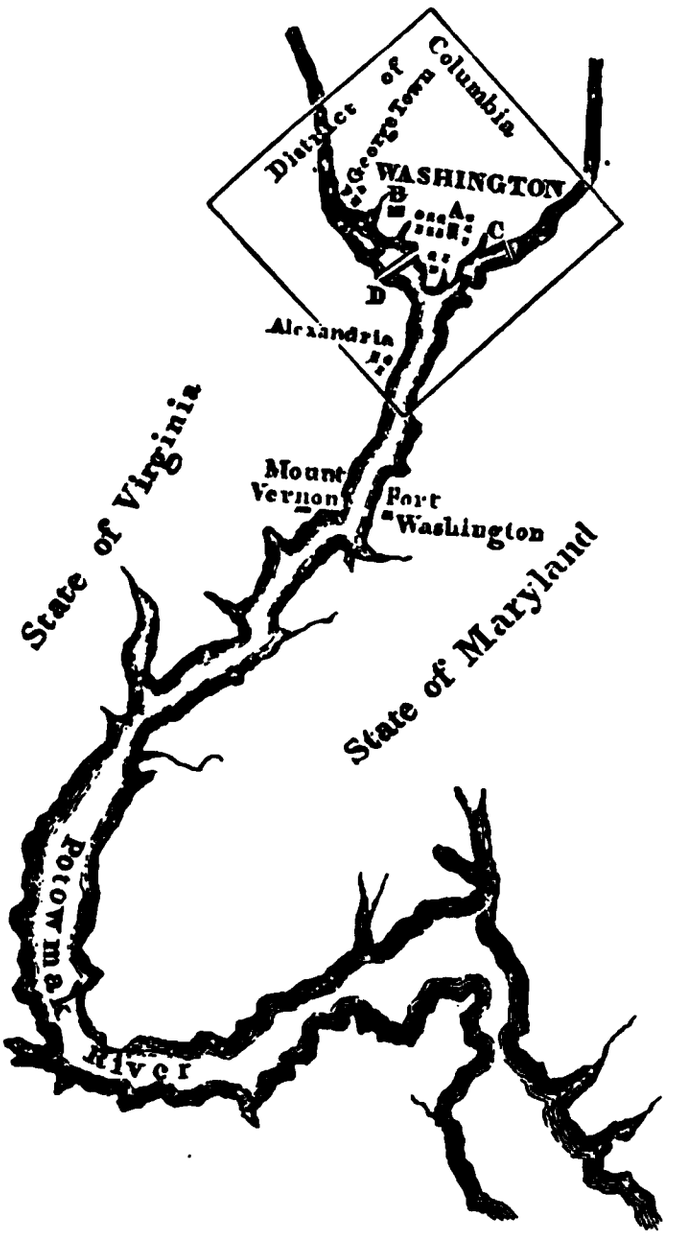
Sabbath schools have been in operation in Baltimore for some time, but the inhabitants have not yet fully learned to appreciate their value. The teachers tell me that they find considerable difficulty in persuading the children to attend regularly, and too frequently the parents, when spoken to on the subject, show by their answers that they almost consider it a favour to the teachers to allow their children to be taught by them! I was sorry to observe however in a school which I visited, that even some of the teachers were frequently either late or absent; so long as this lukewarmness exists among them, it is in vain to expect punctuality in the scholars.

The Sabbath is upon the whole decorously observed in Baltimore, yet I have seen black girls sitting in the evening at Washington's monument

selling peaches, and it was but too obvious that they were not without customers.

If I may judge from my own experience, the natives of Baltimore are exceedingly kind and hospitable to strangers. I met almost every where with an open-hearted warmth of reception which is exceedingly gratifying.

LETTER IX.



REFERENCES.

A Capitol.
B President's House.
C Navy Yard.
D Wooden Bridge nearly a mile long.

LETTER IX.

WASHINGTON—SITUATION—PLAN—APPEARANCE—TIBER CREEK—CAPITOL—PRESIDENT'S HOUSE—IMPOLICY OF BURNING THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS—LIBRARY—MODELS OF THE PATENT OFFICE—PATENTS—COPYRIGHT LAW—NAVY YARD—NAVAL MONUMENT—SENATE—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—USAGES OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS AND BRITISH PARLIAMENT—SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES—TRUMBULL'S PAINTING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—CHURCHES.

Washington, September, 1818.

I HAVE now the honour of addressing you from the metropolis of the United States. It is common here to call Washington 'the city in the woods,' I was therefore somewhat surprised to find that there is little or no wood near it. The aspect of the city indeed would have been much improved by a few trees, to fill up the vacancies, and thus afford something for the eye to rest upon between one group of buildings and another. The soil however is poor, and the probability is that there has never been much timber on this spot; I have noticed none of the stumps which are usually left when the forests are felled.

The position which was selected for the Federal city, is a point of land embraced by the forking of the river Potowmak, about one hundred and

twenty miles from its junction with the Chesapeake, and about two hundred and fifty miles from the sea. The principal branch of the river flows down upon the west, and unites with the smaller one from the eastward in front of the city. Ships of war of the largest size can float in safety three or four miles above the junction of the streams. It was expected that this situation would have been found particularly favourable to commercial enterprize, and consequently that the population would rapidly increase; hitherto however these hopes have not been realized. Georgetown, about a mile above upon the principal branch of the river, monopolizes the inland trade, and Alexandria seven miles below intercepts the foreign; while the barrenness of the surrounding country is discouraging to settlers. The prosperity of Washington therefore seems to be in a great measure dependent on its advantages as the seat of government, and these in a new government, economical even to penuriousness in the salaries of its public officers, cannot as yet be very important.

Great however or trifling as they may be, the city did not till very lately enter upon the full enjoyment of them. Great doubts were entertained whether it was to continue to enjoy the presence of the chief magistrate, and supreme legislature; and capitalists felt no inclination to invest their money in property which was not otherwise valuable, and which might therefore be suddenly and irretrievably

depreciated. But what the natives were at a loss to decide, the British may be said to have decided for them. The burning of the Capitol and the President's house during last war, has settled the question, and it seems to be now ascertained to the satisfaction of speculators, that Washington is to continue, at least for a considerable time to come, in the undisturbed enjoyment of her metropolitan privileges. How an event so disastrous should lead to consequences so propitious, may seem to be in some measure a paradox, but it is one of easy explanation. When the rebuilding of these edifices came to be the subject of deliberation in Congress, the question as to the removal of the seat of the legislature was necessarily discussed; national feeling however co-operated powerfully with other considerations to influence the decision, the proposal was at once scouted, and the requisite amount was enthusiastically voted to efface the memorials of British triumph. Preparations were instantly made to rebuild the Capitol and President's house with more than their original splendour, the value of building ground and of houses took an immediate start, and Washington now exhibits abundant proof of the enterprize and elasticity of the national character.

The original plan of the city was on a most extensive scale. A parallelogram more than four miles and a half long, and two miles broad, was regularly divided into streets, avenues, and squares,

and should the anticipations of its founders be realized, this will after all be but the nucleus of the future metropolis. The streets are laid out towards the cardinal points, crossing each other at right angles; the avenues intersect these diagonally, so as to avoid the tiresome sameness which is observable in Philadelphia, and extensive squares are to be placed at the crossings of these transverse lines. The avenues are from 130 to 160 feet wide, the streets from 80 to 110.

To lay out the plan of a city however is one thing, and to build it is another; of all the regularity and system which the engraved plan exhibits, scarcely a trace is discernible upon the ground. Instead of beginning this gigantic undertaking in a central spot, and gradually extending the buildings from a common focus, they appear to have commenced at once in twenty or thirty different places, without the slightest regard to concentration or the comforts of good neighbourhood; and a stranger looking round him for Washington, sees two houses here, and six there, and a dozen yonder, scattered in straggling groups over the greater part of three or four square miles. Hitherto the city does not contain above fourteen thousand inhabitants, but these have taken root in so many different places, that the public crier, a black man whom I have just seen performing the duties of his calling, is obliged to make the circuit on horseback. Pennsylvania Avenue is almost

the only place where the line of communication can be traced. This stretches from the Capitol to the President's house, a distance of rather more than a mile, with double rows of gravel walks and poplar trees, and a good many buildings have been erected on both sides of it, with considerable attention to neatness and continuity. This however is but a small portion of the intended avenue, which according to the plan is to stretch out in both directions, till it is eventually about four miles in length.

A short way from the Capitol, Pennsylvania Avenue is crossed by the Tiber, a little muddy stream, or creek according to American phraseology, which filters through flags and rushes into the Potowmak. A wooden bridge is thrown over it, but the stage driver who brought me from Baltimore preferred fording the stream, to cool the feet of his horses. Moore in one of his poetical epistles dated from the 'Modern Rome,' makes a sarcastic allusion to this classic stream, but, if Weld is correct, the name was given it by some early settler, before the site was chosen for the Federal city, and therefore its founders are not answerable for what at first seems a piece of ridiculous affectation.

As the Capitol and the President's house are both of freestone, we are rather disappointed to find them covered with white paint. The grain of the stone is indeed rather coarse, and a good

many hard white pebbles are imbedded in it, yet the walls would certainly have looked better in their natural colour. The truth is, the buildings were both originally unpainted; but the unceremonious usage which they received from our troops at the capture of the city, so effectually begrimmed their visages that it was found impossible to eradicate the defilement. To have demolished and rebuilt the walls, would have been a very costly expedient, and as the least of two evils, the painter's brush was resorted to; here and there however, above some of the windows, the black wreathings of the smoke are still discernible through the white covering.

Of all the errors committed on our part during that unhappy war, this was undoubtedly one of the greatest. Setting aside the question as to its abstract defensibility, on the ground of retaliation or otherwise, it is obvious that it was in the highest degree impolitic; because its immediate effect, as might have been anticipated, was to break down party spirit among the Americans, and to unite them as one man in support of the measures of their government. The firebrand was no sooner applied to their Chief Magistrate's Palace, and the National Senate House, than thousands who had from the beginning maintained a systematic opposition to the contest, at once came forward and took up arms to maintain it; their national feelings were roused into powerful excitement, and

they joined in one loud voice of execration at the destruction of their national edifices. Our ministers, had such been their object, could not have devised a more effectual way of strengthening Mr. Madison's hands. Had our troops recorded their triumph upon the front of the buildings, and left them uninjured, the indignant feeling of humiliation would have wreaked itself on those by whose imbecility the capture of the city had been occasioned, and who escaped so nimbly when it fell into the enemy's hands. But the burning of the buildings saved Mr. Madison; a thirst for revenge of the insult overcame every other feeling, and the war became thenceforward, what it had not been before, decidedly popular and national.

No more than the wings of the Capitol had been completed when the city was captured. They have risen from their ashes, and are again roofed in; the centre also is beginning to appear above the ground. Each wing is pretty nearly square, and consists of a basement and principal story, surmounted with a low circular dome bearing a small lantern. The basement is rusticated, and alternating with the windows of the principal story is a row of Corinthian pilasters. The centre is to resemble the wings in its general features, but will project considerably beyond them. The building wants simplicity.

The House of Representatives will occupy a

magnificent hall in the right wing of the building. The Speaker's chair is to be placed near the wall, and the seats and desks of the members will be disposed in semicircular lines round it, rising as they recede. Beyond the members' seats will be an extensive gallery for spectators. Twenty-two splendid Corinthian columns with corresponding pilasters are to surround the outline of the semicircle, and the wall behind the Speaker's chair. Part of these are already erected. The shaft of the columns is of a kind of puddingstone from the banks of the Potowmak, composed of numerous pebbles of various sizes and colours, and admitting of a good polish. The capitals, which were executed in Italy, are of white marble, and it is said cost upwards of a hundred pounds sterling each. The appropriate foliage of this splendid order is most exquisitely elaborated. I am disposed to think, however, that had the columns been altogether of white marble, the effect would have been much more pleasing. As the workmen are still busy with this hall, I am unable to be more minute in my description.

Among a multitude of workmen who are now employed on the building, I chanced to enter into conversation with an Irish marble cutter, who has been here for some months. He said that a large proportion of the workmen were from Scotland and Ireland; their wages are from one to two dollars a day, it costs them about three dollars

a week for board and lodging, and he is able to save about one half of his wages.

The President's House is a handsome building of considerable dimensions, occupying the brow of a rising ground near the bank of the river and commanding a most extensive and beautiful prospect. In the centre of the side towards the river is a semicircular projection, and Corinthian pilasters,[1] rising between the windows to the full height of the building, support a balustrade which goes completely round. The principal front however is on the other side, rather a singular arrangement I think, where a plain but lofty portico of four columns rises above the entrance door. Among heaps of rubbish around the building I saw several fragments of the old capitals of the pilasters, which had been cracked by the conflagration and thoroughly blackened with smoke.

The walls of the President's House are now restored to their former condition, and carpenters and upholsterers are busied in giving to the interior more than its original splendour. The walls of some of the rooms which have been finished are covered with very rich French paper studded with gilt flowers. I saw in one of them a full length copy in oil of Stuart's portrait of Washington; the original is, or at least was, in the possession of the

[1] I speak from recollection in calling these pilasters *Corinthian*. My memorandums are silent on the subject, and it is therefore not impossible that I may be wrong.

Marquis of Lansdown, and is the same from which the beautiful engraving by Heath was executed.

Along with the Capitol and the President's House the public offices were also destroyed. There were at that time only two, which have been rebuilt, and other two have been added; they are appropriated to the departments of the treasury, state, navy, and war, and stand near the President's House, two on each side.

No less than five libraries perished in that ill-fated conflagration, two of which were of considerable value. Many public documents and some curious papers connected with the history of the revolution were also destroyed. As a recommencement of a national library, Congress has purchased from Mr. Jefferson the whole of his private collection, containing about ten thousand volumes. In turning over a few of Mr. Jefferson's books I found a copy of Professor Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Majora which bore the following inscription in the autograph of the editor:—

Ad virum honoratissimum
et doctissimum
Thomam Jefferson S. R. S. Edin.
a fœderatis Americæ civitatibus
ad Regiam Majestatem Christianissimam
cum plenâ potestate legatum
hunc librum observationis causâ
misit
Andreas Dalzel.

A similar one appeared on the Minora.

The models in the Patent Office would have shared the fate of the Capitol, but for the intercession of the person who had charge of them. He strenuously pled with our officers that they might be spared, representing that they had no relation to warlike affairs, that many of them were ingenious and useful, and that to destroy them would be to wage war against the arts, and against general improvement. This appeal was effectual, and the models were left uninjured. Its success makes one regret that no such intercession took place on behalf of the libraries and national archives, to which the same argument applied with tenfold force. A gentleman who witnessed the whole process of destruction, stated to me his opinion that General Ross would probably have been induced to abstain from the destruction of the Capitol and the President's House, had suitable exertions been made by the civil authorities. The whole of these however, officers of state and local magistrates, regardless of all but their personal safety, took to their heels by common consent, aud left the public buildings to their fate. Old Anchises should have shamed them all:—

> "Vos agitate fugam!
> Me si cœlicolæ voluissent ducere vitam,
> Has mihi servassent sedes. Satis una, superque,
> Vidimus excidia, et captæ superavimus urbi."

The Patent Office exhibits a singular assemblage

of nicknacks, for the greater part of the models seemed to me to deserve no better appellation, though I dare say they are quite as important as many of those useful inventions which are every month recorded in the corresponding office in London. A boat was pointed out to us which was to be propelled by machinery, but it unfortunately turned out that the machinery was a sufficient load for the boat without any other cargo. The frame of a tent bed made of iron graced another shelf; but the originality of the invention was more than questioned by some wag, who had written on the label affixed to it 'Og King of Bashan had an iron bedstead.' Patent churns were numerous; and if you search minutely, patent cradle-rockers and patent brooms may also be discovered. Our conductor particularized as an invention of real utility, a machine for cutting iron nails; the introduction of which has completely superseded, throughout the United States, the use of hammered ones.

The expense of obtaining a patent here is only thirty dollars; £6, 15s. sterling. The securing of copy right is a still cheaper process. One copy of the book is deposited in the Secretary of State's office, and a fee of sixty cents, about half a crown, is paid to the clerk of the District where the author resides, for an entry of the claim; another half crown is paid for a certified copy of this entry, which must be advertised for four weeks in the

newspapers, and copied at full length on the back of the title page of the book. The term of copy-right is fourteen years, but in the event of the author's surviving, a repetition of the same process secures it for other fourteen. There is a good deal of cumbrous and unnecessary machinery in all this, but it is much more favourable to authors and enterprizing publishers than the exaction, as with us, of eleven copies of the work, however voluminous and expensive. There is one impolitic regulation on this subject; an alien cannot hold copy-right until he has resided in the country at least two years at one time. Poor encouragement this for an emigration of authors, to give a stimulus to the national literature! Not only is an alien deprived of the power of personally holding copy-right, he cannot even convey a title to another person. Were the 'Great Unknown' to cross the Atlantic, and to continue the manufacture of his literary ware at the usual rate of three publications per year, by which he would at home, according to report, net at least three or four times as many thousands of pounds sterling, for two whole years he could not gain a dollar by his writings; he might publish them, but before three days flew past,[2] two or three

[2] Rapidity of publication is as well understood in America as any where. I copy the following from a New York newspaper which has recently reached me (May, 1823):—

"*Despatch in printing.*—The new novel, Peveril of the Peak, was received from England in New York on Monday at Ten A. M.

pirated editions would make their appearance, without his having it in his power to suppress them. There is at least a semblance of good policy in most of the American statutes respecting foreigners, and by some of them considerable advantages are offered to emigrants, but the framers of this law seem to have regarded *quilldrivers*, as a race by no means likely to increase the energies or resources of the nation; and therefore as an effectual barrier to the importation of such learned lumber, they have condemned them to a state of pauperism for two whole years after their arrival, proclaiming all that they may produce during this period to be lawful prey to depredators of every kind. The same impolitic, and so far as I can see, unjust law, applies also to patents.

The navy-yard, about a mile south east of the Capitol, occupies nearly forty acres of ground, on the margin of a small inlet of the eastern branch of the river. Before visiting it I had neglected to

and was printed, published, and sold on Tuesday, within 28 hours after the same was received. Another English copy of the same work was received per the Custom House, New York, at Twelve o'clock on Wednesday—at One o'clock forwarded to Philadelphia by the mail. In Philadelphia it was printed on Thursday, and on Friday 2000 copies were put in boards by Six o'clock in the morning. The English copy of Moore's Loves of the Angels was taken out of the Custom House in New York on a Monday in February last, at Eleven o'clock A. M.; was immediately sent to Philadelphia, and 250 copies of the work printed were received at New York on Thursday following by Eight o'clock A. M. and the same copies were sold and circulated that afternoon."

provide myself with an introduction to the commanding officer, and reached the gate before I recollected that this would be necessary. As the only remaining chance, I walked boldly past the sentinel, hoping to get in unchallenged; ere I had gone many paces, however, the serjeant of the guard hailed me, and having ascertained that I was an interloper ordered me to turn. I made no remonstrance, but observing at a short distance from the gate a marble monument, I asked and obtained permission to inspect it. I found it to be a monument to the memory of some American naval officers, who fell several years ago in an attack on Tripoli. It consists of a column upon a square base, surmounted with an eagle, and surrounded by allegorical figures as large as life. The shaft of the column bears the beak and stern of three vessels of the antique form, projecting from it at equal distances from each other. The figures are allegorical of History, Fame, Commerce, and America. History is in the act of recording on her tablet the heroic achievements of the departed warriors; Fame has mounted upon the base to crown them with laurel; Mercury carrying the cornucopiæ, as the representative of Commerce, bewails their untimely fate; and Columbia, a beautiful female decorated with feathers, is pointing two little chubby boys, one of whom carries the Roman fasces, to the commemorative device. On the front of the base is a sculptured basso relievo

representation of the bombardment. The other three sides are occupied with inscriptions; one contains the names of those who fell, another intimates that the monument was erected by their brother officers, and on the third is inscribed—

FAME HAS CROWNED THEIR DEEDS,
HISTORY RECORDS THE EVENT,
THE CHILDREN OF COLUMBIA ADMIRE,
AND COMMERCE LAMENTS THEIR FALL.

This last inscription is, to say the least of it, superfluous, for the art of the sculptor is worth nothing if it requires such an expositor under it. The monument was executed in Italy and is very beautiful, but the spectator regrets to observe that the fingers of some of the figures have been broken off. We are not left in doubt as to the perpetrators of this outrage, for a small square tablet bears the mortifying information—

MUTILATED
BY BRITONS,
25TH AUGUST, 1814.

This inscription might also have been spared. It is not at all improbable that some of our soldiers, in the wantonness of victory, may have been the guilty individuals, for the monuments in Westminster Abbey abundantly manifest the propensity which prevails in the inferior classes of our country-

men to similar acts of vandalism; many of the smaller figures there, have been deprived not only of their fingers, but of their heads, and the real cause of wonder with respect to this one is, not that so much but that so little mischief was done. The person who ordered the inscription, however, should have reflected that it immediately suggests the question "How came 'Britons' to be here?" and it is possible, if the answer to this question is followed up by others which naturally occur, that the disgrace of allowing the fingers to be taken off, might eventually appear to be at least as great as that of having done it. A few years hence, nothing could have been seen in Washington to remind a visitor of its having been once in an enemy's hands, but so long as this monument remains in its present state, the humiliating fact is conspicuously recorded.

Postscript, February, 1819.

A second visit to this city has given me an opportunity of visiting Congress, which was not in session when I was here formerly.

The Senate and House of Representatives meet at present in plain brick buildings close by the Capitol, where temporary halls have been fitted up for them. The galleries of both houses are open to every person; I found in them auditors of every description, workmen without their coats in one place, and elegantly dressed females in an-

other. The utmost quietness and decorum however prevailed.

The President of the Senate wears no costume; he appeared in a blue coat with gilt buttons, and occupied a plain elbow chair with a small canopy over it. Each senator has a writing desk before him, and many of them were either writing letters or reading newspapers. They were all in plain dresses, and many wore jockey boots.

I found the Senate discussing the propriety of making compensation to a British subject in Upper Canada, for a small vessel which had been captured by an American cruiser on Lake Ontario, before the declaration of war. The vessel had been sold, and the proceeds paid to the clerk of one of the Districts of the State of New York, to await the decision of a court; the court decided that the capture was illegal and ordered restitution, but in the mean time the clerk had become a defaulter and eloped. A bill had in consequence been brought into the Senate, containing a provision for making good to the owner of the vessel the sum which he had thus lost Various individuals spoke shortly on both sides of the question. Some opposed the bill, on the footing that the individual aggrieved ought to have recourse upon the legal securities of the District Clerk, and said that it would be giving to a British subject an advantage which would not have been conceded to a citizen of the United States. I had however the pleasure

of hearing the Hon. Rufus King, one of the senators for the State of New York, speak warmly in favour of the bill. He said that the nation was bound in honour to make good to a foreigner the decision of the court; that in similar circumstances an American citizen would have most certainly obtained redress in Great Britain, and that he had never known an instance of such a decision there, in which prompt and ample compensation had not been made. The question was ultimately carried in the affirmative.[3]

The house of Representatives was in committee, and I found Mr. Sargeant of Philadelphia concluding a long speech, which had been begun the preceding day, on the subject of the United States' Bank. A committee, which had been appointed to investigate some alleged misconduct on the part of the Bank Directors, had reported an opinion to the House that the charter of the Bank had been violated, and consequently forfeited entirely. Mr. Sargeant combated this opinion, and was arguing while I was present, that although the facts were proved to be exactly as the committee had reported, the charter was still good, for such delinquencies had all been provided for in that charter, and

[3] The bill alluded to was afterwards thrown out in the House of Representatives, in consequence, as a member of the house told me, of it being somehow or other informal. I cannot help suspecting however, that disinclination to the object of the bill was the true cause.

specific penalties attached to them; the penalties he said were incurred, but the charter was still perfectly valid. I left this gentleman speaking, and his opinion in the end prevailed.

The aspect of the House of Representatives is still less dignified than that of the Senate. The house was pretty full, but many of the members were lounging beside the fire reading newspapers, others were clustering round the windows, and few even of those who remained at their desks were attending to the orator, most of the others being busily engaged in writing letters, and some carefully weighing them to ascertain that the enclosures did not exceed the weight which their franks covered. In the House of Commons, it struck me that the members showed a good deal of indifference to the discussions which were going forward; the triple bows of the wigged messengers between the door and the bar, seemed sufficiently childish; the peremptory order of the Speaker, 'strangers withdraw,' somewhat uncivil to strangers; the confusion which took place in clearing the gallery, and the elbowing and pushing at filling it again, not a little annoying and vexatious; but after all there is more senatorial decorum in the House of Commons than in the House of Representatives. It appeared singular that so many members should attend the debates while so few seemed to be interested in them, and I thought that those whose legislative exertions were confined to gazing out at

the window, or toasting their toes at the fire, might with more propriety enjoy themselves so at home. I have since learned from a member of the House, as some explanation of this, that in place of forty members constituting a quorum as in our House of Commons, it requires in the House of Representatives a majority of the whole number. The total number of members, which is increasing every year, is at present 118, consequently at least 59 must be assembled at every deliberation, and as a great many subjects are necessarily of a local nature, and interesting to very few, it is no wonder that many should avail themselves of the newspapers, or of pen and ink, to 'give time a shove.' The question which I heard discussed was one that regarded the existence of the United States' Bank, which had been established but two or three years before, chiefly with a view to facilitate the financial operations of government; and in which a great deal of money had been made and lost, by sudden and unprecedented fluctuations in the value of its stock, which after rising from 100 to upwards of 150, had recently fallen to 93. It was however no way surprising that they should be tired of a speech which had lasted two days, and that on a subject which had engrossed a great part of the session, to very little purpose; the orator is esteemed one of the ablest men in the house, but an animated debate is one thing, and a lecture another. Instances are not

wanting of members occupying the floor for three successive days; the house adjourning when they get tired, to resume the thread of discourse the following day. The writing desks are bad things, were it for no other reason than that they encourage indolence and inattention; the benches of the House of Commons scarcely admit of lounging; besides it is to speak and not to write that the members are sent to Congress.

It would not however be fair to try the American Congress by a comparison with the British Parliament. There is little similarity either in the materials or in the manner of their construction. In America, a young, thinly peopled, and republican country, almost every person is engaged in the active business of life; and the equality of succession to property, and the necessarily frequent division of it, prevents almost entirely the accumulation of large fortunes. A great proportion of those who compose her representative assemblies are men of no wealth and sometimes of little education, many of them second rate lawyers, others merchants, well stored with commercial information, and a few who find a seat in Congress a convenient thing were it only for the salary which is connected with it.[4] Great

[4] Eight dollars, thirty six shillings sterling, for every day that Congress sits, with an allowance of the same sum for every twenty miles that the member has to travel to and from Washington. A seat in Congress is worth rather more than two hundred pounds sterling a year.

Britain on the other hand is an old country, overflowing with population, where a monarchy, hereditary nobility, and feudal tenures, are necessarily connected with large fortunes, and with the entire leisure of their possessors for legislative or other pursuits; a country where many receive an education expressly intended to qualify them for the service of the state, and where many members of the representative assembly, so far from requiring a stipendiary compensation for their attendance, are able to expend immense sums in procuring their election. Yet with all these disadvantages the wisdom and integrity of the American Congress have ere now put to shame the more practised politicians of Europe, and her diplomatic agents have often evinced themselves more than a match for the starred and titled plenipotentiaries of our own and other countries.[5]

[5] In a review in the North American of Tomline's Life of Pitt, some remarks occur on the usages of Parliament and Congress which I doubt not will interest the reader. The article alluded to is written with much candour and good sense, and the reviewer expresses himself respecting George III. and his favourite minister, in terms of kindliness and approbation which we should hardly have expected from a republican critic. In alluding to the King's letters he says, "we think the character of a monarch who could manifest such undeviating firmness, such remarkable good sense, and such devotedness to the constitution of the country, deserves to be recorded and published." On Parliament he makes the following observations:—

"We cannot but observe that the habit of offering exaggerated and unmeaning commendation to talents and learning, has been long practised in the House of Commons, and abounds especially with those who are politically opposed, and whose measures are at the same

The building of the Capitol has advanced so considerably since the period of my former visit, that several apartments in the right wing have been finished, and one of them is now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States.

This Court is almost the only one which has adopted an official costume; in all the inferior courts throughout the country, except I believe those of South Carolina, the judges are to be distinguished from the counsel or the jury, only by their position

time the subject of violent and, to our feelings, unbecoming crimination and condemnation. Neither of these habits is to be observed in the same degree in the debates of the American Congress. Part of this difference may be accounted for, from the circumstance that as the government has no representative, no minister in either branch of Congress, the principal cause and stimulant of personal censure or compliment do not exist; for one naturally leads to the other.

"There are several peculiarities in the British House of Commons, that procure vast facilities and advantages to individuals endowed with great talents. The first peculiarity is, that the discussion is confined exclusively to half a score of members, for during the great debates to which we have referred in this article, seldom more than that number took a part. It is true that occasionally there starts up in these debates a new member, who makes what the reporters call a maiden speech, which is heard with great attention, reported with great care, and then, in all probability, the name and the voice are for ever lost, amidst the din and shouts of the chiefs of the epic. In those maiden speeches we have observed that the most fatal symptoms are well set and well prepared sentences and periods, certain moral truisms, and frequent references to the Greeks and Romans. Such symptoms are commonly mortal. But unless these members speak with promise, they are heard a second time with great indifference, and finally scraped and groaned down, if the less positive expression of the feeling of the house, by one half the members going into the coffee rooms, and the other half going to sleep, is not accom-

on the bench. This is probably a point on which the Americans have mistaken the reverse of wrong for right. It was all very well to lay aside the antiquated and grotesque wig, which buries the intellectual organ under curls and pomatum, but to strip the administrator of justice of every distinctive garb, was depriving the judicial office of an accessory which has a very powerful influence on the human mind.

The Supreme Court is composed of five judges, and I found them like the House of Representatives

panied by a prompt obedience. Whatever advantages may attend the practice of allowing the Commons to select their own orator, it has an air of great rudeness; and we are able to account for it in no other way, than by supposing that it was first exercised under some of the arbitrary sovereigns to stifle those who were obnoxious to their censure. No such custom existed during the Commonwealth, and as many members spoke then as now in our Congress.

"A good deal also may be learned from the constitution of the house. Many members are sent there merely to vote, who would probably greatly displease their patrons if they should attempt to speak. Many who spend great sums to obtain seats have no constituents, and an M. P. is only serviceable to such persons for the purpose of franking letters, of adding a little to their distinction and dignity in drawing rooms and at dinner parties, and as being one proof, besides the right to carry a gun, that a man is a gentleman. And after all, this is one of the least expensive modes which an Englishman adopts to prove his claims to that condition. Men seldom go to Parliament for the mere purpose of speaking for their constituents, inasmuch as the members of the House of Commons have constituents in a more enlarged sense than the members of the American Congress, because from the circumstances of our country, there is a much greater variety of interests in it requiring more specific representation. It often happens, however, that instructions are sent in relation to certain privileges and customs, by virtue of which members of the House of Commons are forced to speak; as was most particularly the case in

engaged upon the subject of the United States' Bank. This national establishment is by no means popular throughout the Union, and some of the State legislatures imposed a very heavy tax upon the branches which were established by it within their jurisdiction. The payment of this tax was resisted by the Directors, and the question as to the right of the local governments to impose it, came before this court in the form of an appeal. During

relation to the Slave trade. There is, notwithstanding, as we observed above, a class of members whose sole object is the honour and dignity of a seat in Parliament. They care little in what way they get there; and being there, have no particular constituents, whose interests they are called to defend. They have not as with us each thirty five thousand constituents who can reward them with their approbation and often with State offices, whereby such weight is acquired at home, that the national government is forced to extend its patronage to them:—by which circuitous process many a member of Congress, who would be immediately defeated on the floor of the house in any attempt to gain influence by taking an active part in the debates, is still enabled by means of long speeches painfully composed and delivered, and diligently printed and distributed through the post office, to acquire or sustain that popularity among his constituents, which shall send him up to the executive government, clothed in all the importance of a powerful local interest.

"Another peculiarity of the English House of Commons is, that a division takes place every night; and though such a subject as the Missouri question might be renewed for twenty nights successively in Committee on the State of the nation, yet there is always a certain degree of variety, freshness and animation, produced by a knowledge that a decision is about to take place. This peculiarity is a consequence of that which we have mentioned. The third peculiarity is, and it is one which will always make greater orators than we are likely to have in this country, because they will always have more experience, that men of great promise and ambition can enter the

the few minutes that I spent here I heard some arguments, by the counsel for the State which had imposed the tax, in support of its right to do so. He argued that by the Federal compact the various States had relinquished in favour of the general government only the rights of levying importation and exportation duties, of making war and peace, and of coining money; but that they still retained and daily exercised the power of imposing internal taxes, and that there was nothing in the constitution

House of Commons at the age of twenty one, an age at which an individual seldom can enter even a State legislature in this country. Fox was chosen to the house before he was twenty, Pitt before he was twenty two.

"Again, Parliament is a profession, and a man becomes as skilful and as much attached to it as to that vocation by which he earns his bread. The distinguished men in the House of Commons, remain there twenty and thirty years, and many of them as long as they live. The consequence of this is, that they not only become greater men themselves, but learn to do the business of the nation with greater despatch. We believe that the members from Virginia and South Carolina remain in Congress longer than those from the New England States, where an opposite policy, either arising from the caprice of the people, or the circumstances of the candidate, prevails to a fatal degree." *North American Review No XXXIV. pp.* 157, 189, 190.

By the constitution of the United States, every thirty thousand free citizens are entitled to send one member to the House of Representatives, who must be at least twenty five years of age, and holds his seat for two years. Qualifications for voting vary in the different States; in that of New York, every one possessed of a freehold of the value of 50 Dollars, £11, 5s. sterling, or occupying a tenement of the annual rent of forty shillings currency, that is 22s. 6d. sterling, is entitled to vote. This is to all intents and purposes universal suffrage.

of the United States' Bank which freed it from the operation of this right. I did not remain to hear the speakers on the opposite side, but the decision was ultimately given in favour of the bank.[6]

In an adjoining room is at present exhibited Colonel Trumbull's[7] painting of the Declaration of Independence. This is one of a series of historical paintings commemorative of the Revolution, which Congress has commissioned this artist to execute for the purpose of adorning the new Capitol. In commemorating the event which gave birth to this great republic, the painter has placed before us most of the individuals who composed the general Congress, by which the Declaration of Independence was decreed and published; and the

[6] An article in the North American Review makes reference to to this decision in the following terms:—"The first question was whether Congress had the power to incorporate a bank, and in the discussion of it, the incidental and derivative powers of Congress, the choice of means and their adaptation to the ends proposed, were fully examined, and the court determined that the creation of a banking corporation, was a proper and fit instrument for carrying on the fiscal operations of the government.—The court having determined that Congress had the power to erect a bank, and this power being necessarily supreme, it followed that a power to create implied a power to preserve; the unlimited power of a State to tax was a power to destroy; and the exercise of such a power being inconsistent with the preserving power, it could not coexist with it, but must yield to that power which was in its nature sovereign and supreme." *North American Review No XXVI. pp.* 110, 111.

[7] This gentleman carried arms in the early part of the Revolutionary war, and his father, who was then Governor of the State of Connecticut, was distinguished by his efficient exertions in the same cause. Before the conclusion of the struggle the son quitted the

committee which was appointed to frame the document, in the act of presenting the draught at the table. I am no judge of such compositions, and may therefore be guilty of presumption in expressing any opinion, but I cannot help thinking that the painter might have selected a more interesting period of time in this great transaction. The picture indeed cannot be said to represent the *declaration* of independence, for though the instrument had been drawn up, it had not yet been adopted, much less made public. The great object has been to get together into one group the portraits of those self-devoted men, who were the principal actors in this event; but in effecting this the result is really calculated by its total want of epic grandeur to

army and went to London, to study painting under his distinguished countryman the late President West. Here he was arrested under suspicion of being a spy and committed to the Tower. The following anecdote respecting his confinement, which I transcribe from Professor Silliman's Travels in England, deserves to be universally known. It is given in Colonel Trumbull's own words.

"I was arrested at 12 o'clock at night of the 19th November, 1780, in London, on suspicion of treason—I was then principally occupied in studying the art of painting under Mr. West. Mr. West well knew that his attachment to his native country gave offence to some individuals who were about the king's person. He therefore went the next morning early, to Buckingham house, and requested an audience of the king; it was granted, and he proceeded to state the origin and nature of his acquaintance with me, concluding that whatever might have been my conduct in America, he could conscientiously state to his Majesty, that since my arrival in London the principal part of almost every day had been passed under his roof, and indeed under his eye, in the assiduous study of his profession, leaving little or no time for any pursuit hostile to the

remind us somewhat of the Vicar of Wakefield's family picture. To the left of the canvass in the foreground is seated the President, John Hancock, immediately before him is the committee, consisting of Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Livingstone, and Sherman, the last of whom is in the quaker garb, and Jefferson is in the act of laying the scroll upon the table; to the right and in the back ground are the other members of Congress, most of them seated, and all as demure as if they had been assembled to attend a funeral. No opportunity was afforded in such a scene for the delineation of character, or the representation of animated action and intense emotion. The painter was not

interests of Great Britain. The King after a moment's hesitation, made this answer: 'Mr. West—I have known you long; I have confided in you; I have never known you to mislead me; I therefore repose implicit confidence in this representation. This young gentleman must in the mean time suffer great anxiety; he is in the power of the law, and I cannot at present interfere. But go to him, and assure him from me, that in the worst possible legal result, he has my royal word that his life is safe.' Mr. West came to me with this message immediately, and you may well believe that it softened essentially the rigours of an imprisonment of eight months." Professor Silliman adds,—"If you consider who was the King's prisoner, that he was in his view a rebel, and had just come from fighting in an elevated station against him; that his father was a most active and efficient head of one of the most actively and inveterately rebellious States, I think you will allow that the King's answer, which amounted to this—"should the courts of law condemn him to death, I will save his life by a pardon," constitutes one of the finest passages of kingly history, and could never have proceeded from a little mind."—*Silliman's Travels in England, 3d Edit. Vol. I. p.* 241.

allowed to give scope to his imagination; for the event was too recent, the room in which it took place too plain, and too well known, and the meeting of a deliberative assembly altogether too common-place a subject, for any considerable deviation from historical truth. The real value of the picture consists in the portraits, all of which are believed to be authentic; most of them Mr. Trumbull executed from life, for he began to collect the requisite materials many years ago, and the rest he copied from pictures believed to be accurate. Of the portraits of a small number of those who composed the Congress no trace could be discovered, and these are therefore not introduced.[8] The size of the picture is eighteen feet by twelve.

As to the state of religion in Washington I can give you but little information; I have not happened to spend a Sabbath in it. There are two Episcopalian churches, one Presbyterian, one Associate Synod, two Baptist, two Methodist, one Quaker, and one Romish. The Popish chapel is dedicated to St. Patrick; it is a small building and somewhat paltry, but I saw in it a beautiful white

Of the fifty six individuals, whose signatures are affixed to the Declaration of Independence, only the following five were living while I was in America; so far as I know the number has not been subsequently reduced:

Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.
John Adams, of Massachusetts.
Charles Carroll, of Maryland.
William Floyd, of New York.
William Ellery, of Rhode Island.

marble font for *holy water* which has lately arrived from Italy. Standing within the basin is a figure of St. Patrick about twelve inches in height, wearing the mitre and sacerdotal vestments, and in the attitude of pronouncing a benediction on the water. The execution is beautiful, and we cannot but regret that one of the noblest of the fine arts should be so frequently pressed into the degrading service of this system of delusion.

Of society and manners here I know almost nothing, for both my visits have been very short. Respecting public characters I must be equally silent, for none have been pointed out to me except Commodores Decatur [9] and Rodgers. They are both plain looking men, and were not in uniform when I met them. Commodore Rodgers' affair with the Little Belt, before the commencement of last war, has given us an idea that he is a man of more bluster than bravery; Americans however say that we are mistaken, and that during the war while commanding a fifty gun frigate, he actually hove to, and offered battle to a British seventy four gun ship, which she declined;—I cannot help however doubting the accuracy of this story.

[9] This brave officer has fallen in a duel since my return. That detestable practice is lamentably prevalent in America, and is sometimes accompanied with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. In going the second time to Washington, I passed the ground where a duel was fought but a week or two before, with muskets, at ten paces distance; the one party was shot dead on the spot, the other dreadfully mangled, and I believe afterwards died.

LETTER X.

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WOODEN BRIDGE—ALEXANDRIA—EVENTS OF LAST WAR—VISIT TO MOUNT VERNON—MANSION HOUSE—WASHINGTON'S TOMB—ATTEMPT TO STEAL HIS BODY—PROPOSAL OF REMOVING IT TO THE CAPITOL—KEY OF THE BASTILE—EARTHEN-WARE MINIATURE OF WASHINGTON—FORT WASHINGTON—A VIRGINIA BARBECUE.

Alexandria, September, 1818.

THE secluded spots where men of historical celebrity have spent their hours of rural or of literary retirement, have ever been objects of interest to the traveller. A powerful principle in our nature impels us to seek a kind of personal familiarity, with those scenes which occupied the attention of the more distinguished individuals of our race; to which they hastened for relaxation from the fatigues of public life, and where they sought and found a solace amid all its disquietudes. The Sabine farm and the Tusculan villa have awakened the enthusiasm of many a classical wanderer, and could the field be identified in which Cincinnatus was dragged away from the unfinished furrow, to drive back destruction from his country's gate, how would the heart of the patriot bound within him as he paced its surface, and recalled the circumstances in which the unambitious Dictator returned

to the plough! The classic soil of Italy it may never be my favoured lot to tread; but America can boast of a hero second to none of Greek or Roman fame, and who could land upon its shores without the eager desire to visit Mount Vernon?

This beautiful spot is about ten miles below Alexandria, on the banks of the Potowmak. In leaving the Federal city the traveller crosses the main branch of the river by a wooden bridge, very nearly a mile in length. This is a simpler erection than the bridges over the Schuylkill; it has no roof, and consists of a floor of planks, supported upon piles, and level from end to end. A portion of it suspended in the form of a drawbridge at the deepest part of the channel, admits of the passage of vessels up or down the river. There is a similar bridge of very nearly the same dimensions, across the Cayuga lake, in the upper part of the State of New York. These prodigious structures may be mentioned as proofs, among many others, of the enterprize and perseverance which are essential ingredients in the national character.

The country between Washington and Alexandria is similar to that around the capital. The surface of the ground in the neighbourhood of the river is agreeably diversified with woods, meadows, and sloping inequalities; but the soil, wherever it has been broken up, seems to consist principally of light sand and gravel.

Alexandria, seven miles from Washington, is

a commercial town of considerable activity, containing about nine thousand inhabitants. The harbour is capacious, and vessels of the largest size can float alongside the wharfs. The town is compactly built, on the plan of Philadelphia; the streets are wide, well paved, and better lighted at night than those of most American towns. The principal articles of export are flour, biscuits, and tobacco. It is said that 200,000 barrels of flour have been inspected here in the course of a single year. The biscuits, or *crackers* as they are universally called, are quite celebrated, and are shipped in large quantities to all parts of the United States, and even to the West India islands. The principal manufacturers are two worthy countrymen of ours; one of whom served his apprenticeship in a well known baker's shop at the 'foot of the burn close,' in our native city. It is quite gratifying to meet with a townsman when one is so far from home, and this pleasure I have unexpectedly enjoyed more than once. In Baltimore I became acquainted with an old gentleman, now a marble cutter, who wrought as a mason at the erection of 'Spreull's land,'[1] and who could talk to me of several individuals whom I intimately knew.

One of the cracker bakers was rather unceremoniously used, by some of the British ships of war which went up the Potowmak to Alexandria, to

[1] A *land* is the Scotish appellation for a tenement which accommodates several families under one roof.

co-operate, had that been necessary, in the attack upon Washington. They took the liberty, it seems, of emptying his cellars of a good many barrels of flour, without favouring him with any thing in the shape of payment. He acknowledges, however, that they performed the exploit in as civil a manner as could well be supposed; for when he went on board to represent that something by way of a fair exchange, would sweeten his recollections of the transaction very materially, the officers insisted on his sitting down and drinking wine with them to promote their better acquaintance, and after thus oiling the hinges of friendship, they dismissed him with many smooth words, and good natured recommendations to think no more about the flour. The old gentleman jocularly offered to sell me a bill on the British Treasury, for 'goods delivered.' We cannot help regretting that any one should have it in his power to relate such anecdotes of our naval commanders; they are not at all in accordance with the usages of modern warfare, nor with that honourable system which characterized the march of our armies through France. I cannot believe that it has been customary with our naval officers so to plunder private property in defenceless towns; and in such circumstances as the present, I should be inclined to hope that were an application made to our government, with proper evidence of the fact, reparation would yet be made. Our countryman, however, a good

old gentleman, has set it down in his Ledger as a very 'bad debt.'

At Alexandria I was favoured with an introductory note to the Honourable Bushrod Washington, the General's nephew, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court, to whom Mount Vernon now belongs. I believe that strangers are politely received at the mansion house without any introduction, but it was of course more agreeable to be possessed of it, and I accidentally obtained the company of two young gentlemen who were going a pilgrimage to the same shrine. The road to Mount Vernon after running along for a short way within view of the Potowmak, strikes off into the woods on the right; the day was hot, and we found the shelter of the trees very grateful, but coming to a place where the road divided we chanced to take the wrong one, and after proceeding about a mile were indebted to a black girl for being set right again.

At the bottom of the avenue to Mount Vernon, the gate was opened to us by an old negro who had survived the master of his youth, and who now receives from many a visitor substantial tokens of the universal respect which is entertained for his memory. The avenue is narrow and in bad order, it has indeed more the air of a neglected country road, than the approach to a gentleman's residence. The mansion house, an old fashioned building of two stories surmounted by a small turret and

weathercock, stands on an elevated situation on the western bank of the Potowmak; it is built of wood, but the walls are cut and plastered in imitation of rusticated freestone. The back part of the house is to the river; at the other side are two small wings at right angles to the principal building, and connected by piazzas which bend towards them so as to form a kind of irregular crescent. Opposite the hall door is a circular grass plot surrounded by a gravel walk and shaded on both sides by lofty trees; two beautiful chesnuts were pointed out to me, which sprung from nuts planted by the General's own hand. On the two sides are the vegetable and flower gardens, in the latter of which is a greenhouse.[2]

The mansion house was originally built by Washington's uncle,[3] who had served in the British navy under Admiral Vernon, and commemorated his regard for his commanding officer by the name which he gave to his estate. Some partial alterations were made on the house by the General, but report says that he subsequently regretted

[2] In the British edition of Marshall's Life of Washington is a very accurate front view of Mount Vernon; in Weld's Travels a view is given of the back part of the house and the bank of the river, but it is exceedingly incorrect.

[3] In Marshall's life of Washington, it is said that the house was built by his elder Brother; my journal states his Uncle, and my memory strongly corroborates its testimony as to the information which was given me at Mount Vernon; it is possible however that I may have misunderstood what was told me.

that he did not entirely rebuild it. It is an old fashioned, perhaps not a very comfortable residence, according to modern ideas of comfort, but it ought now to be considered sacred, and have the most unremitting care bestowed on its preservation. He will be worse than a Vandal who presumes to pull it down. In the hall hangs a picture of the Bastile, and in a small glass case above it is an ancient key, which formerly turned the bolt of one of the dreary locks in that house of sighs. It was sent out to Washington by the Marquis la Fayette, after the destruction of the Bastile, as an inscription affixed in his hand writing records. Over the mantel piece of one of the parlours is a small framed miniature of the General which was cut out of a piece of common earthen-ware. It is a singular fact that this is regarded by the family as the most accurate likeness that exists. The general contour of his face is well ascertained, and there is a strong similarity in most of the portraits; yet those who knew him best agree that there was a certain expression in his countenance, which is quite wanting even in Stuart's painting, and in the engraving which was executed from it. This very ordinary kind of daub, which was broken out of a common pitcher, and probably executed by some potter's apprentice, is said to possess more of this intellectual characteristic than any of the other portraits.

At the back of the house a lofty piazza stretches

along the whole length of the building, and before it the ground slopes rapidly towards the river and soon becomes quite precipitous. On the bank is a small tea-house, which affords a most commanding view of the surrounding scenery. The Potowmak widens into a bay before you, and bending round the base of Mount Vernon, seems almost to insulate the promontory on which it stands; then sweeping in the opposite direction round the projecting shore of Maryland, and lost for a time behind its vast forests, it re-appears in noble expanse about ten miles below, with the sunbeams flashing from its surface, and rolling its mighty current into the yet more ample bosom of the Chesapeake.

A little to the right of the tea-house, and nearer to the edge of the bank, is the tomb of Washington. Here under the peaceful shade of oaks and cedars, lie all that earth contains of him by whose energy and patriotism the United States became a nation! No venerable cathedral rears its arches over his remains; no sumptuous mausoleum embalms his memory.

"Si monumentum quæris, circumspice!"

His country is his monument; his country's liberty his only panegyric!

Washington in his will designated the spot in which he wished to be interred, and particularly directed that the body should not afterwards be

removed. The cemetery is nothing more than a plain brick vault, almost level with the ground; it is encircled by venerable oaks, and some beautiful red cedars are growing in the mould which covers the roof. Visitors were formerly allowed to see the interior, but some person having had the rudeness to strip part of the cloth from the coffin, all access to it is now forbidden. Subsequently to this prohibition, the servant who had been intrusted with the key conceived the horrible idea of robbing the vault, with the purpose of carrying off the body to Britain to exhibit it for money! His intention was happily discovered and the nefarious outrage prevented; it is difficult indeed to imagine how it could have been carried into effect without immediate detection, but the projector must have been a fool to imagine that such atrocity would have been countenanced in Britain, or that he would have been permitted for a single day to carry on so abominable a trade.

The State of Virginia applied to the relatives of the General for permission to remove the body to Richmond, to erect a monument over it; and it is said that notwithstanding the specific injunctions of the will, the family were persuaded to consent to this proposal. Several years however have since elapsed, and as no provision has yet been made for carrying the proposed plan into effect, it is generally believed that no claim will now be

founded upon that permission. Congress it is reported wish to transfer the body to the seat of government, and to entomb it under the centre dome of the Capitol. If it is ever removed from its present situation certainly the Capitol is its only suitable resting place; no individual State should be allowed to possess a deposite which, if the family relinquishes it, is undoubtedly the property of the nation, and should pass into no other guardianship. Beyond all question however, the proper place for Washington's ashes is where they are. The secluded spot harmonizes with every idea which we have formed of his character, while the powerful influence of local associations, gives vividness to our conceptions, and intensity to our emotions. In the Capitol every thing would have an opposite tendency. It is a building which Washington never saw, and which is no way connected with his personal history; it has once been reduced to ashes, and what would in all probability have been the fate of the body, had the removal taken place before that event? In visiting the tomb of Nelson in the vaults of St. Paul's, it is not the wondrous achievements of the hero which chiefly occupy our thoughts—there is nothing in those damp and dismal caverns which is at all in harmony with such recollections. An attendant pilots you, by the yellow glimmering of a tallow candle, through tartarean darkness to the quarry of granite under which he is buried, and while wandering

round it, your thoughts are engrossed by the opening which was made in the floor of the church to lower the coffin through, and of the prodigious labour it must have cost to pile up over it such ponderous masses of stone—Nelson you scarcely think of, your ideas are all engaged about those who buried him. At Mount Vernon no such distraction takes place. You look round upon scenery which Washington often contemplated; you tread the turf over which he walked; you see the gardens in which he amused himself; the trees which he planted; the house, the rooms, the chair, which he occupied; and the humble vault which he himself chose for the repose of his dust. Every thing is consistent—the effect harmonious and powerful—Mount Vernon alone should be Washington's grave.

On the opposite bank of the Potowmak, and a very little way farther up, is a small intrenchment, named Fort Washington, which commands the channel of the river. Had it been vigorously fought when our vessels went up the river to Alexandria, it is believed that it might have arrested their progress. When our troops however were on their march to Washington, the officer who commanded it blew it up and made off. There was no sufficient cause for such a proceeding, yet it is said that he obeyed to the letter the orders of his superior officer. I was quite gratified to hear from a gentleman of Judge Washington's family, that

when the British ships of war passed Mount Vernon, they honoured the memory of the departed hero by lowering their fore-top-sails; and their bands, as another gentleman informed me, played Washington's March. That was indeed a manifestation of most correct and honourable feeling, on the part of the commanding officer.

I have mentioned that the avenue to Mount Vernon had a neglected appearance, I am sorry to add that similar neglect pervades other parts of the establishment. The flower garden and greenhouse have nearly gone to decay; the tea-house on the bank of the river is almost in ruins, indeed its upper story, from which a more extensive view may be obtained, is at present totally inaccessible, for the ladder to it retains but one foot at top and another at bottom. Even the door of the vault is to all appearance so crazy, that I think a kick would go far to knock it to pieces. It is painful to observe such an air of desolation, in so interesting a spot, and I would cherish the hope that it will speedily be removed.

After having spent an hour or two at Mount Vernon, Judge Washington politely invited us to accompany him to a Barbecue, which was to take place in the afternoon close by the road to Alexandria. The very term was new to me; but when explained to mean a kind of rural fête which is common in Virginia it was not difficult to persuade us to accept the invitation.

The spot selected for this rural festivity was a very suitable one. In a fine wood of oaks by the road side we found a whole colony of black servants, who had made a lodgement since we passed it in the morning, and the blue smoke which was issuing here and there from among the branches, readily suggested that there was cooking going forward.

Alighting from my horse and tying it under the shadow of a branching tree I proceeded to explore the recesses of the wood. At the bottom of a pretty steep slope a copious spring of pure water bubbled up through the ground, and in the little glen through which it was stealing, black men, women and children, were busied with various processes of sylvan cookery. One was preparing a fowl for the spit, another feeding a crackling fire which curled up round a large pot, others were broiling pigs, lamb, and venison, over little square pits filled with the red embers of hickory wood. From this last process the entertainment takes its name. The meat to be *barbecued* is split open and pierced with two long slender rods, upon which it is suspended across the mouth of the pits, and turned from side to side till it is thoroughly broiled. The hickory tree gives, it is said, a much stronger heat than coals, and when completely kindled is almost without smoke.

Leaving the busy negroes at their tasks—a scene by the way which suggested a tolerable idea of an encampment of Indians preparing for a feast after

the toils of the chase—I made my way to the outskirts of the wood, where I found a rural banqueting-hall and ball room. This was an extensive platform raised a few feet above the ground, and shaded by a closely interwoven canopy of branches. At one side was a rude table and benches of most hospitable dimensions, at the other a spacious dancing floor; flanking the long dining table, a smaller one groaned under numerous earthen vessels filled with various kinds of liquors, to be speedily converted, by a reasonable addition of the limpid current from the glen judiciously qualified by other ingredients, into tubfulls of generous toddy.

A few of the party had reached the barbecue ground before us, and it was not long ere we mustered altogether about thirty ladies and somewhere about an hundred gentlemen. A preliminary cotillon or two occupied the young and amused the older, while the smoking viands were placed upon the board, and presently Washington's March was the animating signal for conducting the ladies to the table. Seating their fair charge at one side, their partners lost no time in occupying the other, and as there was still some vacant space, those who happened to be nearest were pressed in to occupy it. Among others the invitation was extended to me, and though I observed that several declined it, I was too little acquainted with the tactics of a barbecue, and somewhat too well inclined to eat, to be very unrelenting in my refusal. I soon how-

ever discovered my false move. Few except those who wish to dance choose the first course; watchfulness to anticipate the wants of the ladies, prevent those who sit down with them from accomplishing much themselves, the dance is speedily resumed, and even those who like myself do not intend to mingle in it regard the rising of the ladies as a signal to vacate their seats. A new levy succeeds, of those who see more charms in a dinner than a quadrille, and many who excused themselves from the first requisition needed no particular solicitation to obey the second. The signal for rising did not seem on this occasion to excite much notice; and some prolonged their sitting till they had an opportunity of bestowing on the third levy, the pleasure of their company. Some experiments began now to be made upon the virtues of the toddy, and it was not long ere the capacious lakes began to be effectually drained off. Let me not be misunderstood however; I saw not the slightest approach to intemperance. Jollity and good humour were not wanting, but there was nothing which trenched upon sobriety either in speech or behaviour. There might be others present besides Judge Washington who had seats on the bench, but the judicial dignity was no way compromised by any part of the proceedings.

While local politics and other matters engrossed the conversation at table, others less inclined to the sedentary position stationed themselves round the

dancers. The cotillon was the favourite figure, and the platform was just large enough to admit of two at a time. There 'music rose with its voluptuous swell,' and exercise flushed the cheek, and enjoyment brightened the eye of the fair Virginians.

But the sun drove on in its diurnal career; and as my poor steed had fasted since early in the morning, I thought it time to take leave of the entertainment and make the best of my way to Alexandria. I left them about five o'clock, and learned that very shortly after, the assembly broke up.

LETTER XI.

Mohawk River
Fall
Schenectady
Cohoes
Lansinburgh
Troy
ALBANY
Hudson River.

LETTER XI.

VOYAGE UP THE HUDSON—STEAM BOATS—FULTON—HOBOKEN—GREENWICH—HAERLEM CREEK—THE PALISADES—TAPPAAN BAY—SLOOPS—VERPLANK'S POINT—HIGHLANDS—FORT PUTNAM—MILITARY ACADEMY—KAATSKILL MOUNTAINS—ALBANY—JEALOUSY OF LARGE TOWNS—GREAT CANALS—FEUDAL SYSTEM—MOHAWK RIVER—COHOES FALL—CHURCHES.

Albany, October, 1818.

I HAVE now made two passages in a steam boat on the Hudson; the river in which this system of navigation was first successfully attempted. Of this honour we cannot deprive America, and it were unmanly and ungenerous to attempt it. Americans are very far from pretending that Fulton was the first projector of steam vessels, but they are entitled to maintain that he was the first who succeeded in bringing them into operation; and there can be little doubt that in doing so, he very materially improved on the plans which others had proposed.[1]

[1] "The merit of a great original conception cannot be denied, but the talent of its possessor is frequently eclipsed by the improvements it afterwards undergoes, and the splendid combinations in which it is involved. The Marquis of Worcester seems to have had the first crude notion of a steam engine—Newcomen constructed one, but the name of Watt is immortalized in the history

We can state with truth that experiments were made on the Forth and Clyde Canal many years ago to ascertain the practicability of what has now succeeded; and although it is said that the attempt was abandoned solely in consequence of the injury which was done to the banks, by the violent agitation of the water, yet it is not probable that the result was in other respects very encouraging, for had it been so, there was sagacity enough in our countrymen to have transferred the system to river navigation.

Fulton was indebted for his ultimate success to the efficient aid of the late Mr. Livingstone, Chancellor of the State of New York, who supplied the funds for his experiments. Mr. Livingstone's friends were at first inclined to censure what they esteemed his temerity in embarking in so *vapouring* a scheme, but a few months wrought a wonderful change in their opinions, and his family is now reaping the rich fruits of his enterprize. The only legislative encouragement which the projectors received, was an exclusive right for a term of years, of navigating steam vessels in the

of the arts as the efficient author of the invention. The application of steam to the propelling of boats is not a new idea; nay, experiments were long since instituted to prove its efficiency. The bright and ample honour of our Fulton, is, that he succeeded where others failed, and that he carried into execution what others had abandoned as impracticable and senseless," *North American Review, No. XXXIV. p.* 242.

waters of the State of New York.[2] This was however a prodigious monopoly, for it includes the navigation of the Hudson, Lake George, Lake Champlain, the lower part of Lake Erie, the American side of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, Long Island Sound, and the bay of New York. Large sums have been paid to the Company by various individuals for liberty to navigate different portions of these waters.

The steam boats on the Hudson are much larger than any which we have seen at home, and in many respects very different in their construction. I have sailed in one which contains upwards of 120 permanent sleeping births, and these are frequently inadequate to the accommodation of the passengers.[3]

[2] This monopoly was for a time silently acquiesced in by the neighbouring States, but of late they have begun to manifest great discontent that New York should send shoals of steam boats into their harbours, while their steam vessels are not allowed to enter those of New York; and as a retaliatory measure the States of New Jersey and Connecticut have interdicted New York steam boats from approaching their shores. Lawyers of great eminence have given it as their opinion that the power which has been assumed in granting this monopoly, is completely inconsistent with the Federal Constitution, and the question is now awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court at Washington. (1822.)

[3] The vessel here alluded to is the Chancellor Livingstone, which was the largest and finest steam vessel in the United States, while I was there. Through the kindness of a friend in New York, and another in Greenock, I am enabled to subjoin an accurate statement of the Chancellor Livingstone's dimensions, power of engine, rate of sailing, and cost, as contrasted with those of the

The distance from New York to Albany is reckoned at 160 miles, and the fare including

Majestic, the largest of the steam packets which ply between Greenock and Liverpool. The American Vessel was built in New York, and her engine made at Fulton's works at Powle's Hook; the British one was built by Mr. Scott of Greenock, and Mr. Napier of Glasgow furnished the engines.

	CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTONE.	MAJESTIC.
Length of Keel	154 feet	125½ feet.
Length of Deck	165 feet	144 feet.
Breadth of Beam	32 feet	23½ feet.
Breadth over the Paddle Boxes	—	39½ feet.
Draught of Water	7¼ feet	9¾ feet, with 80 tons fuel.
Register Tonnage, exclusive of the Engine Room	—	239 tons,
Register Tonnage, including the Engine Room	520 tons	345 tons.
Nominal power of the Engine	75 horses	2 of 50 horses each.
Diameter of the Cylinder	40 inches	40 inches each.
Stroke of the Piston	5 feet	3½ feet.
Diameter of the Paddle Wheels	17 feet	16 feet.
Breadth of the Paddle Wheels	5 feet 10 inches	6½ feet.
Diameter of the Fly Wheels	14 feet	None.
Average velocity in smooth water by Steam alone	8¾ knots an hour	10½ knots an hour.

three meals is seven dollars, or thirty-one shillings and sixpence sterling. An additional dollar how-

	CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTONE.	MAJESTIC.
Greatest velocity with favourable wind and tide	12 knots . . .	15 knots.
Cost of Vessel, rigging and furniture	£11,700 sterling	£10,000 sterling.
Cost of Engine . .	£13,500 sterling	£5,000 sterling.
Total cost	£25,200 sterling	£15,000 sterling.

It will be observed from the above statement, that the cylinder of the Chancellor Livingstone's engine is exactly of the same diameter with that of each of the two in the Majestic, yet the power of the American engine is rated at 75 horses, and the others at 50; this is accounted for by the longer stroke of the piston in the American engine. The machinery of the Chancellor Livingstone rises 4½ feet, and the top of the piston 15 feet, above the deck. In the Majestic the machinery and piston are all under the deck. This arrangement, which is universal in the American steam boats, gives a longer stroke to the piston, and the increased power enables them to enlarge the diameter of the paddle wheels; it however raises the centre of gravity so much, that it seems at first sight scarcely capable of application to vessels which go to sea, and carry sails, which none of the American boats did when I was there. Since my return however, a steam ship has been established between New York and New Orleans, and a steam brig between New York and Norfolk, which are rigged with schooner sails, and in both, as the cuts in the newspapers indicate, the machinery and piston rise considerably above the deck. The Majestic has three masts, with schooner sails, and spreads when in full sail 3000 yards of canvass. Her shortest passage from Liverpool, a distance of 245 miles, was performed in 19½ hours, exclusive of stoppages, which is at the rate of rather more than 12 knots an hour, and she once ran from the Craig of Ailsa to Greenock, a distance of 60 miles, in 3 hours and 40 minutes, which exceeds 15 knots an hour. The Chancellor

ever is levied by the State from each passenger, and appropriated to the fund for cutting the great canal, between Lake Erie and the Hudson.[4]

Livingstone burns pine wood, and carries her fuel on wings projecting in front of the paddle boxes. She has two chimnies, several feet asunder, and the pilot occupies a position a little behind them upon a stage raised above the machinery, steering by a wheel, from which tackling is carried round to the rudder.

The American steam vessels have nothing corresponding to our second cabin or steerage. The principal cabin of the Chancellor Livingstone is 54 feet long, and 7 feet from the floor to the beams the width in feet I have not, but it accommodates with ease two parallel ranges of dining tables, of the full length of the apartment. The Ladies' cabin is upon deck, immediately over the other, and is 36 feet long. The forward cabin is entirely a sleeping apartment, 40 feet long, with a longitudinal partition in the centre. The sleeping births are along the sides of the vessel, in two tiers; the principal cabin contains 38, the forward cabin 56, and the Ladies' 24, in all 118; but these are often inadequate to the accommodation of the passengers, and mattresses are laid out upon settees on the floor. There are other 17 sleeping births, for the captain, pilot, and crew, making a total of 135. She carries 24 hands, including engineers, sailors, stewards, cooks, &c. She was built when materials and workmanship were very high; it is said that she could now be constructed for little more than one-half.

[4] This tax like every other was exceedingly unpopular, and it is obvious that although levied from the public its inconvenience was principally felt by the steam boat company, for passengers by the sloops, which are numerous and excellent, were not subject to it. So much was this felt, that the steam boat proprietors have subsequently found it their interest to relieve the public of it altogether, by compounding with the State for an annual payment of five thousand dollars. As this is a voluntary offset from their yearly profits, of more than eleven hundred pounds sterling, it is evident that they must have been very considerable. They have at the same time lowered the passage money to six dollars. (1822.)

We sailed from New York at nine o'clock in the morning. The weather was unfavourable to the enjoyment of the excursion, for the wind blew strong a-head and the air was piercingly cold; mere pleasure however was not my object, and I had no resource but to submit.

For a considerable distance the Hudson is the boundary between the States of New York and New Jersey. Jersey city as it is called is nearly opposite the lower extremity of New York, and about three miles farther up on the same side is a noted duelling ground, called Hoboken. Hither 'men of honour' resort from New York, to vindicate their claim to this envied appellation, and by eluding the laws of men and defying those of God, unanswerably demonstrate the extremity of their courage. A small white obelisk was erected here to mark the spot where General Hamilton fell, by the hand of Colonel Burr, but it is said to be going rapidly to decay. To Hamilton's genius the United States are indebted for some of the most invigorating principles in their national constitution, and had the political system which he advocated been more extensively adopted in the Federal compact, the republic would probably have made a nearer approach to a perfect constitution. It is much to be lamented that a life so valuable to his family, his country, and mankind, should have been staked on the decision of so unhallowed a tribunal. Burr was pointed out to me

in the streets of New York. He has never been tried for the offence, for as the duel was fought in New Jersey, the State of New York can take no cognizance of its result, and so long as the survivor keeps out of the territory of New Jersey, he is safe from the operation of its laws. Although the crossing of a stream, however, thus protects the person of the murderer, he cannot be said to have gone without punishment even of a temporal kind. The Republican party to which he at first belonged shun him as an apostate; and after having failed to ingratiate himself with the Federalists, he earned their thorough detestation, by sacrificing to his resentment the man who was their most illustrious ornament.[5]

[5] Close by Hoboken is Weehawken, a romantic spot about 200 feet above the level of the river, from which a most commanding prospect is enjoyed of the bay and surrounding scenery. In 1821 a lively little satirical poem was published by a Mr. Hallack of New York, from which the following descriptive stanzas are extracted:—

" Weehawken, in thy mountain scenery yet,
All we adore of nature in her wild
And frolic hour of infancy, is met;
And never has a summer's morning smil'd
Upon a lovelier scene, than the full eye
Of the enthusiast revels on—when high

Amid thy forest solitudes, he climbs
O'er crags that proudly tower above the deep,
And knows that sense of danger, which sublimes
The breathless moment—when his daring step
Is on the verge of the cliff, and he can hear
The low dash of the wave with startled ear.

About a mile above New York and nearly opposite Hoboken, is the village of Greenwich, now almost an integral part of the city. Around it are many neat buildings, the greater part of which, as well as the village itself, were erected in former times as a retreat from the yellow fever.[6] Above

Like the death music of his coming doom,
And clings to the green turf with desperate force,
As the heart clings to life; and when resume
The currents in his veins their wonted course,
There lingers a deep feeling—like the moan
Of wearied ocean when the storm is gone.

In such an hour he turns, and on his view,
Ocean, and earth, and heaven burst before him.
Clouds slumbering at his feet, and the clear blue
Of summer's sky in beauty bending o'er him—
The city bright below; and far away,
Sparkling in golden light, his own romantic bay.

Tall spire and glittering roof, and battlement,
And banners floating in the sunny air,
And white sails o'er the calm blue waters bent,
Green isle, and circling shore, are blended there
In wild reality. When life is old,
And many a scene forgot, the heart will hold

Its memory of this; nor lives there one
Whose infant breath was drawn, or boyhood's days
Of happiness were pass'd, beneath that sun,
That in his manhood's prime can calmly gaze
Upon that bay, or on that mountain stand,
Nor feel the prouder of his native land."

Fanny, a Poem, Stanzas XCI—XCVI.

[6] The subsequent and repeated return of this malady, after an absence of many years, has again driven the citizens to Greenwich for shelter. (1822.)

Greenwich, the banks on the right slope with a gentle declivity to the water, and are in general thickly wooded; on the left they are frequently broken and precipitous. About fifteen miles up the river, Kingsbridge heights appear on the right, and below them Haerlem creek,[7] as it is called, which stretches with an irregular curve from the Hudson into Long Island Sound, giving to the Manhattan territory its insular character, and limiting the jurisdiction of the city corporation of New York.

The New Jersey shore becomes now bold and precipitous, and for several miles an abrupt wall of granite raises its bare forehead on the left, to a height of nearly two hundred feet. The Palisades, as this range has been most appropriately denominated, form a striking feature in the landscape; they are in general from two to three hundred feet from the water's edge, in some places the front has been broken, and irregular masses of rock tumbled downwards to the water, but for the most part it is smooth and perpendicular like the wall of an ancient fortress, while here and there a solitary pine tree, 'moor'd on the rifted rock,' seems, like the banner of a citadel, to wave a proud defiance from the edge of the cliff.

[7] The reader of Knickerbocker's History of New York will recollect that here the renowned sounder of brass, Antony Van Corlaer, met with his untimely fate, presumptuously essaying while half tipsy to swim across the creek 'in a dark and stormy night.'

With the Palisades terminates the State of New Jersey, and we approach a wider part of the stream which the early Dutch settlers dignified with the appellation of the Tappaan Sea, but which was in after times modified into that of Tappaan Bay. This lake as we may call it is about ten miles long, and the banks are from four to seven miles apart, presenting a very considerable variety of landscape; 'here the bold promontory crowned with embowering trees advancing into the bay—there the long woodland slope sweeping up from the shore in rich luxuriance—whilst at a distance a long waving line of rocky heights throw their gigantic shades across the water.'[8] In many places the ground has been cleared of wood, and country seats and snug farm houses, flanked by capacious barns, give variety to the scene; in other situations however the for-

[8] Knickerbocker, Vol. II. Chap. 2.—Mr. Irving's fascinating pen has now invested the beautiful scenery of the Hudson with all the charm of classic ground. The reader need scarcely be reminded of Rip Van Winkle and the Legend of the Sleepy Hollow. The Sleepy Hollow we are told lies 'in the bosom of one of those spacious coves which indent the eastern shore of the Hudson, at that broad expansion of the river denominated by the ancient Dutch navigators the Tappaan Zee, and where they always prudently shortened sail and implored the protection of St. Nicholas.' Let not future voyagers up the river, fail to explore the sequestered glen on their right, where Ichabod Crane sighed for the smiles of Katrina Van Tassel, and where the ill-omened apparition of the galloping Hessian wrought such wo to the enamoured pedagogue. The mountain side where Rip encountered the dolorous party at nine pins, and partook of their soporific flagon, is yet at a distance.

ests are yet untamed, and afford the traveller a glimpse of what America formerly was, when none but the Indian traversed its shores, and only the bark canoe glided over its waters.

On the traveller's left is Rockland county, a favourite resort of the early Dutch settlers; the race is hitherto so unmixed, that very little English is spoken in any part of the county. Some of the land on the right contains good freestone, and has been valued so high as 1500 Dollars an acre; about £340 sterling.

I was particularly struck, in my progress up this lordly stream, by the multitude of thriving little towns which at short intervals stud its banks. They are generally of wood, and some are obviously of recent origin, but in others a sprinkling of brick buildings gives an aspect of comparative antiquity and a promise of permanence to the settlement. All of them have wharfs projecting into the river, which are never without sloops loading or discharging; in many of them banks are to be found and courts of justice.

Schooners are a favourite kind of vessel in America for the coasting trade, but in the rivers, and particularly on the Hudson, none but sloops are employed; in going up the stream we met a great number going down before the wind to New York. The Hudson river sloops are proverbial for their neatness. They are not deep in the water, but very broad in the beam and sharp in the

bows; carrying a large cargo and giving space for a comfortable cabin, but drawing little water and sailing fast. The rigging is abundant and in excellent order, the vessel clean, showily painted, and occasionally decorated with a handsome figure head; altogether very superior in appearance to any of our river craft. The number that are employed upon this river have been estimated at two thousand, of 40 tons and upward.

Somewhat above the Tappaan Bay there is a contraction and sudden bend of the channel, and the stream, after washing in its descent the bases of the mountainous range denominated the Highlands, makes a circuit round a bold head-land called Verplank's Point which projects from the eastern shore. The turn is so sudden, that in going up the river the banks at a little distance seem to close completely in, and it is not till you have approached very near it that the narrow channel appears upon the left, through which the river issues from the mountainous region. Before we reached this part of our course a most agreeable change took place in the weather. The clouds broke, and the rays of the sun burst through; the wind subsided into a gentle breeze, the temperature of the air became perceptibly milder, and we entered the alpine region under the cheering and beautifying influence of a lovely autumnal afternoon, rendered doubly enlivening by the previous contrast.

Verplank's Point commands a fine prospect of the river. The bank swells up with a gradual but rapid slope, the brow of it is crowned by a neat family mansion, and a little below, the roof of the tea-house appears from among the trees. Behind rise the lofty hills among which we were about to pass, and you could almost imagine yourself on the margin of Lochlomond or some other of our Scotish lakes. Our floating leviathan now entered the narrow channel, and we were soon surrounded by the Highlands of the Hudson. These are said to form a part of the eastern or Blue Ridge division of the Appalachian mountains; a continuation of which skirts the boundaries of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and pursuing a north easterly course, passes through Vermont into Canada. The height of the more elevated points on the banks of the Hudson does not much exceed 1500 feet; they are of course low in comparison of a great many of the mountains of Scotland, but their effect in the landscape is much more imposing than that of more elevated masses in a hilly country.

An American mountain is in general very unlike a Scotish one. Ours are bare craggy ridges, sharp and angular in their outline, rearing a flinty peak towards heaven; with perhaps a few straggling bushes scattered near the base, but more commonly the purple heather or yellow broom is all that is found on the scanty patches of earth which here and there cling to its sides. In America the

hills swell up in undulating curves, rounded gracefully off both at the base and the summit, and carpeted completely over with dense forests of pine. In the Highlands of the Hudson, however, there is a partial intermingling of the Scotish character; bare masses of rock project at intervals from among the thick foliage, and creeping shrubs of various kinds weave a net work round them. The mellowing tints of Autumn were now spreading themselves among the forest leaves, imparting to the scenery the richness and variety which are peculiar to the season, and as our steam boat ploughed its way along, the eye feasted itself on the ever-varying landscape, or rested on the brilliant reflection in the placid mirror below.

The ramparts of Fort Putnam now opened to our view on the left, perched upon a natural platform about two thirds up the ridge. Events of tragical interest, in the history of the Revolutionary war, identify themselves with this fortress—events which I feel no interest in recalling, but which can never be forgotten while the name of André survives. Beyond Fort Putnam, on another elevated flat of considerable extent, stands the Military Academy of West Point,[9] containing 250 cadets.

[9] Geoffrey Crayon once more—here came down the fearful flaw of wind from the mountains, which threw the sloop on her beam ends in which Dolph Heyliger took his passage for Albany, and knocked the vagrant dog into the water. On the left hand shore took place his perilous adventure with the rattlesnake, his narrow escape from

This institution was established by the general government a considerable time ago, but since last war it has been fostered with assiduous care, and now the tactics of Napoleon's school are taught in it by men who discharged similar offices in the polytechnic schools of France. A bare rock on the opposite side of the river serves the young soldiers as a target, and its battered brow bears token of their proficiency.

Nearly opposite to West Point is the Sugar Loaf mountain, conspicuous by its regularly conical outline, and among a numerous succession of others are the Crow's Nest, Butter Hill,[10] and New

the bullet of the Heer Antony Vander Heyden, and his subsequent merry carousal with that jolly rover and his Indians. See the second volume of Bracebridge Hall.

[10] A large rock which once crowned the summit of Butter hill, 1520 feet above tide water, now reposes on a sand bank in the bed of the river nearly opposite West Point, far enough from the shore for vessels to sail round it. An account of its transition from its former to its present resting place is thus given by Colonel Tucker, an officer who assisted in its removal.

"This famous rock, originally a native of the Highlands above West Point, was situated on the extreme height of Butter hill; when the morning fog was descending from the hill it had a very beautiful appearance, not much unlike a horseman's tent, or hospital marquee riding on the cloud. It was a common amusement for the officers when off duty to roll large rocks from the sides of those hills. These often set others going with them, to the great terror of those persons who were below. One day when this laborious amusement was over, Colonel Rufus Putnam (in whose regiment I served as Lieutenant,) proposed going up to take a peep of this curiously situated rock; it was found situated

Beacon. Anthony's Nose tosses high on the right a bare peak of granite, and holds its name in virtue of the real or fancied appearance of its beetling top.

The sun began to decline in its path as we approached the northern outposts of the Highlands. The hills still rose on each side, like a mighty rampart guarding the more fertile country, but we could descry before us the opening prospect of an extensive and diversified plain. The gigantic shadows of the towering steeps were now stretching across the water, and gradually rising above our heads. We watched them climbing up the sides of the

on a flat rock of great extent and near the brink of a considerable precipice, and hanging very much over it. Colonel P. believed that it was moveable, and if once moved would roll over; and falling from 20 to 50 feet, commence its route to the river. A few days after, in the month of June, 1778, we formed a party of officers, with our servants, who took with them axes, drag ropes, &c. in order to procure levers for the purpose of moving the rock, which we soon found was in our power. The levers being fixed with ropes to the ends of them all, Colonel Putnam who headed the party, ordered us to haul the ropes tight, and at the word CONGRESS, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether. This we did; the levers fell, the rock rolled over, tumbled from the precipice, and took up its line of march for the river! The party then had the satisfaction of seeing the most majestic oaks and loftiest pines bowing down in homage and obedience to this mighty traveller, which never stopped till it reached the bed of the river, where it now lies. This party followed after in its path and were astonished to see that rocks of many tons weight and trees of the largest size were ground to powder. On arriving at the river the party embarked, and landed to the number of sixty or seventy on

opposite mountains, rock and tree one after another dropping into obscurity, till at last the parting sunbeams overshot the last woody summit, and 'left the world to darkness.' Very soon, however, a bright harvest moon rose in the evening sky, and under her peaceful light we emerged from the mountainous region, and sped pleasantly onwards surrounded by the more fruitful plain.

During the night we passed on our left the Kaatskill mountains, [11] about 3000 feet high, which we had seen at a distance the evening before; we passed also many of the populous little towns which teem along the banks of the Hudson. When I went on deck next morning, a cold heavy fog rested on the surface of the water, so dense that even the banks of the river were in a great measure obscured. About nine o'clock we reached Albany, and were soon moored in safety at the wharf.

the rock, where Colonel Putnam broke a bottle of whisky, and named it 'Putnam's Rock.'" *American Journal of Science, Vol. V. p.* 37.

[11] "Whoever has made a voyage upon the Hudson must remember the Kaatskill mountains; they are a dismembered branch of the great Appalachian family, and are seen away to the west of the river, swelling up to a noble height and lording it over the surrounding country. Every change of season, every change of weather, indeed every hour of the day, produces some change on the magical hues and shapes of these mountains, and they are regarded by all the good wives far and near as perfect barometers. When the weather is fair and settled they are clothed in blue and purple,

Albany though a small town in comparison of New York, has been for a long time the seat of the State legislature. It seems a remarkable feature in the domestic politics of America, that both the Supreme and State Governments select remote towns, or more properly speaking villages, as the scene of their legislative labours, in preference to the populous cities upon the sea coast; notwithstanding the many inconveniences which must necessarily result from being thus in a manner excluded from the living world, from access to recent intelligence, and from means of ascertaining the minds of their more intelligent fellow citizens in sudden and difficult emergencies. We have an annoyance at home somewhat similar in kind, although much smaller in degree, in those parts of the country where some old decayed borough tenaciously maintains its dignity as county town, taking precedence of the younger commercial or manufacturing cities, which have greatly outgrown

and print their bold outlines on the clear evening sky; but sometimes when the rest of the landscape is cloudless, they will gather a hood of gray vapours about their summits, which in the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory." The reader must have recognized the introduction to Rip Van Winkle. The author has often regretted that the Sketch Book did not appear until after his return to his native country; he would otherwise have gathered more information respecting the scenery which it has immortalized, and among the rest, about the Kaatskill mountains, which on two other occasions he passed in good day light, without anticipating that they were so soon to acquire celebrity from the eventful story to which he has alluded.

it in wealth and population, but with us this is an unwished-for consequence of the gradual change which manufactures and commerce have produced in the country, and is an evil which we tolerate because it is not very easily removed. In America on the other hand it is a matter of deliberate and voluntary choice, resulting from the republican constitution and the prevalent system of universal suffrage. A jealousy exists throughout the agricultural districts of the influence of the larger cities, and no sooner do they begin to concentrate a considerable portion of the wealth and talent of the State, than the landholders take the alarm and vote the legislature away, some hundred or two of miles into the interior. In this way the Legislature of Pennsylvania was sent from Philadelphia to Lancaster, a small town sixty-two miles off, containing about six thousand inhabitants; and subsequently to Harrisburgh, thirty-five miles farther, with only between two and three thousand. It may thus travel onward till it is ultimately stopped by the State of Ohio, or the shores of Lake Erie; and for the capital of New York, it may be necessary hereafter to search somewhere about the falls of Niagara, or the lake of a Thousand Isles.

Albany was an early Dutch settlement and the streets are filled with Dutch names, of most difficult and cacophonous utterance. The town consisted originally of a single street, skirting the bank

of the river, which takes a slight bend here; but it subsequently extended backwards very considerably, and some of the recent streets towards the north are spacious and well built, and as usual lined with poplars. In many places there is a singular mixture of poverty and splendour. A number of the old Dutch erections are still standing; small houses of red and yellow bricks, with the gable end to the street, having a door and window in the ground floor, a single window in the next, and above it the year of their erection embossed upon the surface in huge iron figures, and the whole surmounted with an iron weathercock rusted upon the rod. There is an air of antiquity about these buildings, which is interesting in a country where antiquity is so rare. The modern erections exhibit the same tasteful style which prevails in New York and Philadelphia. Two or three of the public buildings are of white marble; one of them is surmounted with a very neat dome, but in another the effect of the marble wall is sadly disfigured by the untasteful addition of a red tiled roof. The Capitol, or State House has rather a neat portico, and a dome surmounted with a statue of Justice; it stands at the upper end of a very steep but wide street, running at right angles to the river. Near the Capitol is a very neat Academy with two wings, built of reddish coloured freestone.

Albany, notwithstanding its commercial and

legislative advantages, does not contain above twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants; the probability is, however, that a great increase of wealth and population will take place, when the great western canal is completed, which is to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson, joining the latter in the neighbourhood of this city.[12]

[12] In this stupendous undertaking New York has, to use the words of the North American Review, "shown a spirit of enterprize, and set an example, which are above all praise. The great canal of the Lakes is an undertaking of which the most powerful government on earth might be proud. It is not more a glory to the State than an honour to the country. The canal of Languedoc, which has long been the boast of France, and perhaps we may say of Europe, is not to be compared with this."

The western canal which was begun in 1817, and is now navigable for two-thirds of its whole length, commences at Black Rock at the bottom of Lake Erie, runs parallel to the river Niagara till it joins the Tonawanta creek, makes use of its bed for eleven miles and then stretches along, with but little deviation from a straight line, till it approaches the Mohawk river, at a small town called Rome, a few miles above Utica; thence it runs parallel to the south side of the Mohawk, till it joins the Hudson near Albany. Its whole length will be 363 miles, and the country through which it passes is singularly adapted for canal navigation. After leaving Lake Erie it rises by locks 48 feet, to the summit level, and thence descends at intervals 601 feet, to the level of the Hudson. In the whole extent there are 77 locks. Two levels extend severally 65 miles and 69½ miles, without locks, and between two points 240 miles apart there was not, it is said, a single yard of rock which it was necessary to remove. Connected with this astonishing undertaking, is a corresponding branch beginning at Waterford on the Hudson, eleven miles above Albany, and running northward to Whitehall, formerly called Skenesborough, at the bottom of Lake Champlain. A glance at a map of the United States will at once

In Albany is found a singular vestige of the feudal system, probably the only one that exists in the United States. A gentleman of the name of Van Rennselaer is Superior, or 'Patroon' as he is called, of the city and a great part of the surrounding country. His sway extends over a surface

show what an enormous extent of inland trade is thus laid open to the city of New York. The Champlain canal is 61 miles long; the whole length therefore of the two will be 424 miles. Each canal is 40 feet wide at the surface, 28 at the bottom, and 4 feet deep; the locks are 90 feet long, and 14 feet broad. The estimated expense of the Erie canal was five millions of dollars, and of the other, one million; in all £1,350,000 sterling; but by an unusual result in such undertakings, it is ascertained, from what is already finished, that they will be completed for probably £200,000 less. The literary journal to which I have already alluded says that the average cost of the Erie canal per mile, is 13,800 dollars, £3105 sterling, while the cost of canals in England has generally been about £5060 sterling, per mile, notwithstanding of the difference in the price of labour.

The Commissioners for completing these canals, in their Report to the legislature of the State presented 24th February 1823, which is now before me, state that boats have actually passed upon the Erie canal for a distance of more than 220 miles, and upon the Champlain canal throughout its whole extent, from Whitehall to Waterford. They do not anticipate the final completion of the works on the Erie canal till 1824, but they expect that by June 1823, it will be navigable throughout, from Rochester near the upper end, to Schenectady fourteen miles from Albany, and that by November boats may pass completely through into the Hudson. From the portion which was completed in 1821, they had anticipated a revenue in 1822 of about 40,000 dollars, but on making up the accounts it amounted to no less than 60,446 dollars, £13,600 sterling, while the whole expense of collection, attendance, and repairs, on the same portion, was but little above £1800.

about sixty miles in length, including two counties and a population of sixty or seventy thousand, of which about five thousand are his tenants. Report says that he is worth seven millions of dollars; upwards of a million and a half sterling. He is said to possess here a political influence very similar to

On the Champlain canal, during the same period, the receipts had been 3,625 dollars, £815 sterling; giving a total from the two canals of £14,415. Among the multitude of articles which passed on the Erie canal, were, 184,522 barrels of flour, 17,665 barrels of salt, 9,495 barrels of provisions, 4,872 barrels of ashes, 93,174 bushels of wheat, 46,822 bushels of water lime; the total weight merchandize transported was 35,444 tons. The market price of wheat in the upper part of the State had been raised fifty per cent., solely by the facility of transportation which had been already afforded.

The contemplation of this astonishing canal, leaves us at a loss whether most to admire the felicity of the first conception, the boldness of the undertaking, the skill and success with which it has been carried into effect, or the almost boundless prospect of commercial productiveness which it opens to view. To whom the merit of first projecting the work belongs, has now become a matter of animated controversy in America, but from the statements of various claimants, as noticed in the North American Review, it seems probable that no one individual is entitled to this honour; the proposals by two or three persons of water communications through portions of that district, resulted at last in the magnificent idea of one great canal, and Mr. De Witt Clinton, then governor of the State, was undoubtedly the most efficient instrument of promoting the undertaking. The legislature of New York by undertaking a work on their own responsibility to cost more than a million sterling, while the State revenue was under £140,000, the annual expenditure very nearly as much, and the population no more than 959,220 persons—carrying forward the work with such vigour that there is every certainty of its being finished within seven years from its commencement—have shown what LIBERTY is, and what free institutions can

that of the great landed proprietors at home; he does not indeed now interfere with politics, but he can if he so chooses command a great number of votes. This, however much some may deprecate the result, is the natural influence of property in a representative government, and more especially

do, to stimulate the enterprise and strengthen the energies of mankind. Of the ultimate effects of this canal, and the spirit for such undertakings which it has diffused throughout the whole country, it is impossible to form any adequate conception. The reviewer contemplating future improvements, says, that "by an artificial navigation of sixteen miles, the voyage from Buffalo to Pittsburgh would be uninterrupted. The communications between the Ohio and Lake Erie, are numerous and not difficult. A short cut would join the Muskingum, which discharges itself a hundred and seventy miles below Pittsburgh, with the Cayahoga. The junction of the Scioto with the Sandusky, and the Miami of the Lake, with the Miami of the Ohio, is practicable. Lakes Michigan and Erie may unite their waters by means of the river Raisin, while by the Chicago river which runs into the former, and a branch of the river Plein, a passage might be secured into the Illinois, and thence into the Mississipi.——The time must soon arrive, when that extensive territory from the Ohio to the Great Lakes, and from the Missouri to the borders of Pennsylvania, a country fertile and healthful, inhabited by a race of hardy and vigorous men, capable of supporting a population of enormous magnitude,—a country in comparison with which the fairest kingdom in Europe is almost sterile, will hereafter receive all that may supply its wants or add to its luxuries through New York, and will in turn transmit by the same channel, the rich fruits of an exuberant soil, owned and cultivated by a free population.——The imagination is startled by its own reveries, as it surveys the coasts of Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and traverses the rich prairies of Indiana, or the gloomy forests of Ohio. But we firmly believe that these bright anticipations will be converted into facts, and that our country will

of landed property. An independent freeholder, however small his patrimonial inheritance, may in general please himself as to his vote, but a tenant will in almost every instance find it his interest to please his landlord. Were the pestilent system of universal suffrage, therefore, introduced into Great Britain, it is not in the agricultural, but in the commercial and manufacturing districts of the country, that its destructive effects would be first visible. The landed proprietor would bring forward his tenants to the poll, as easily as the highland chieftain of old mustered his clan for the battle, and Knockdunder's remark to old David Deans, respect-

hereafter exhibit an inland trade, unrivalled for its activity, its value, and its extent." See an interesting article on the New York canals, in the North American Review, No. XXXIV. p. 230.

There is not a doubt that these canals will also carry off a large amount of trade which would otherwise have found its way down the St. Lawrence to Canada. When the country on the Canadian side of Erie, and the lakes above it, is settled, the farmers will find a much nearer market for their grain by the smooth navigation of the canal, than by the *portage* at the Falls of Niagara, and down the furious rapids of the St. Lawrence, besides gaining nearly two months in the year of those which they now lose by the ice, The Champlain canal has already begun to bring down to New York a lucrative trade, from the banks of that lake, which heretofore went northward to Montreal. In fact much of the moral and political, as well as commercial aspect of this vast continent, will, in the course probably of a few years, undergo a very great revolution. The Erie canal has done more to endanger to the British crown the loss of Upper Canada, than all that warlike operations could ever have effected.

ing the call of the congregation to Mr. Butler, would exactly apply—"I pelieve the best end of it was, 'Long live M'Callummore and Knockdunder.' —And as to its being a unanimous call, I would pe glad to ken fat business the carles have to call ony thing or ony body but what the Duke and mysell likes." The Patroon's residence is in a pleasant situation a little to the northward of the city.

Albany, although not reputed unhealthy, is in the summer months a very warm and uncomfortable residence. While I was here for a few days in the latter end of June, the thermometer ranged from 85° to 92°, and on sabbath several persons took off their coats in church.[13] In the evening of the same day there was a great deal of lightning in the west and north west. This brilliant phenomenon is exceedingly common in America, but I never saw it so abundant or so vivid as on this occasion. The horizon was overspread with thickly gathered clouds, undefined and obscure in the intervals between the flashes, but instantly and powerfully lighted up, and the figure and density of every rolling mass exhibited in the most beautiful gradations of shade and colour. The arrowy streams of electric fluid darted along with very little intermis-

[13] It must not be supposed that this is a customary practice in America; I never met with it elsewhere but on one occasion at Boston when the thermometer was about 95°. When I mentioned the circumstance in New York my friends assured me that they had never before heard of such an occurrence.

sion till after midnight, sometimes descending towards the earth, more frequently shooting upwards to the heavens, and again across the sky from one mountain of clouds to another. At one time the storm seemed to approach us, if storm it could be called; a few heavy drops of rain fell, and I heard the deep toned murmuring of the distant thunder. I lay in bed with the window open, gazing at the splendid scene till midnight, after which it gradually died away. There is seldom a fine summer evening, in this country, without less or more lightning.

There is a fall of some celebrity on the Mohawk river, called the Cohoes. The Mohawk has its source near the Oneyda lake, in the upper part of the State, and flowing from west to east, nearly at right angles to the Hudson, unites with it nine or ten miles above Albany. The Cohoes fall is between two and three miles from their junction; it is seventy feet high, and according to Weld about three hundred yards broad. The banks below the fall are quite precipitous and are chiefly composed of slate rock and limestone. The precipice over which the water descends crosses the channel at right angles to the banks, not unlike an immense dam dyke, and the brow of it is as steep and nearly as smooth as the Palisades near New York. There was not nearly enough of water, when I visited it, to cover the rock, but while it rushed in pretty copious streams over some parts of it, others were left quite dry. This circumstance and the great

breadth of the fall, in proportion to its height, materially weaken the effect, and altogether my expectations were somewhat disappointed. At the deepest part of the stream however the water broke into foam at the verge, and a cloud of light spray rose gracefully over it, in which the prismatic colours went and came. In returning I crossed the Mohawk a short way below, by a wooden bridge, from the centre of which there is a finer view of the cascade, than can be obtained close by it.

Passing through the village of Waterford, I crossed the Hudson by another wooden bridge and went through Lansingburgh and Troy. At Lansingburgh, nine miles above Albany, terminates the sloop navigation of the Hudson. This was for some time a thriving town, but is now on the decline, in consequence of sand having accumulated in the bed of the river, which obstructs the passage of sloops. 'Jetties' have been built at various places to reduce the bank, but hitherto without adequate effect. Troy is nearly three miles below, and seems to increase in population and wealth as its neighbour falls off. One bank was formerly sufficient for the commercial transactions of both towns, now Lansingburgh has one, and Troy two. I crossed from Troy in a ferry boat; and in returning to Albany, passed by the way two Government magazines.

There are in Albany eleven places of worship,[14]

[14] These are, 3 Presbyterian, 2 Dutch Reformed, 1 Dutch Lutheran, 1 Baptist, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Methodist, 1 Quaker, and 1 Romish.

and two Sabbath schools were instituted about a year and a half ago. I have spent only one Sabbath in Albany. In the forenoon I heard a communion sermon in one of the Presbyterian churches, from the words, 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.' The discourse was judicious and strictly evangelical; the speaker's manner animated and interesting. After finishing his discourse, he came down from the pulpit and presided at the communion table, according to the customary form in Presbyterian churches. His auditory was numerous and attentive. In the afternoon I heard an Episcopalian minister, from the passage, 'The sting of death is sin.' Though by no means a very eloquent discourse, it contained an explicit statement of the doctrine of original sin, the inability of man to effect his own deliverance, the perfection of Christ's atonement, and salvation through belief of the truth, and renewal of the Holy Spirit. In the evening I heard another minister in the same church, but his discourse was confused and inaccurate.

I had occasion to remark in the churches of Albany, as well as every where else in this country, the jealous separation which takes place on all occasions between the whites and the blacks. None in whom a tinge is detected of African blood are permitted to mingle with white men; they are all restricted to pews in the farther end of the gallery, conspicuously apart from the rest of the congrega-

tion. How reprehensible is such a scene, in the house and presence of Him who hath said, 'Look not on his countenance—for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.' But, alas!

> "He finds his brother guilty—of a skin
> Not coloured like his own!"

and even in the worship of the Most High he must manifest his horror at such an enormity.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

"There is a people who will one day be very great:—I mean the Americans. One stain only obscures the perfect splendour of reason which vivifies that country—slavery still subsists in the southern provinces; but when the Congress shall have found a remedy for that evil, how shall we be able to refuse the most profound respect to the institutions of the United States?"

MADAME DE STAËL.

TRAVELS

THROUGH PART OF

THE UNITED STATES

AND

CANADA

IN

1818 AND 1819.

By JOHN M. DUNCAN, A. B.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LETTER XII.

LETTER XII.

SCHENECTADY—UNION COLLEGE—SABBATH—STAGE WAGGON—MOHAWK—NAVIGATION OF THE RAPIDS—SLAVES—TRAVELLING DISASTERS—EAST CANADA CREEK—LITTLE FALLS—DEEP ROADS—FERRY—HERKIMER—UTICA—ONEYDA INDIANS—ONONDAGO HOLLOW—SKENEATELES—AUBURN—BRIDGE ON CAYUGA LAKE—WATERLOO—LOG CAUSEWAY—SENECA LAKE—NIGHT TRAVELLING—CANANDAIGUA—GENESSEE RIVER—ONE HORSE WAGGON—ENGLISH EMIGRANT—CALEDONIA—BATAVIA—SERMONS—BUFFALO—SECOND JOURNEY OVER THE SAME GROUND—SABBATH AT CANANDAIGUA—BURNING OF BUFFALO.

Buffalo, October, 1818.

THIS is my second visit to Buffalo; my first was in the month of May. During my former journey the roads were in a wretched condition, in consequence of a continuance of rainy weather having succeeded the breaking up of the ice. I then experienced a reasonable share of traveller's miseries, and as it has been almost the only occasion on which I have met with material discomfort, in the course of my wanderings in this country, I shall venture on a more minute detail of my adventures.

The first stage in my progress was from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles, where I remained from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning.

Schenectady was settled by the Dutch about an hundred and twenty years ago; its appearance is consequently somewhat ancient. It contains between five and six thousand inhabitants, but its principal claim to our notice arises from the proximity of Union College. This institution occupied till lately a very inferior rank among the colleges of the United States, but the distinguished talents and judicious administration of President Nott have caused it to emerge from its obscurity, and it now takes precedence in the public opinion of many others of much older standing. The principal obstacle to its farther advancement seems to be the limited number of its Professorships. The effect of this may be gathered from the fact that at present the same individual is Professor of Chemistry and of Belles Lettres, a combination of functions certainly sufficiently heterogeneous. It is said that Union College has received benefactions at different times to the amount of nearly 400,000 dollars, £90,000 sterling; but in place of the endowment of Professorships, the greater part of this large sum has been expended on the college buildings and ground.

The Sabbath which I spent here, left I am sorry to say rather an unfavourable impression on my mind, as to the state of religion. In the morning, although the streets were otherwise quiet, a good many waggons passed through laden with timber and flour. In the forenoon I attended worship at the Dutch church, and in the afternoon at

the Presbyterian one. In the former the preacher gave us a discourse from the words, ‘ Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean,’ which was respectable in composition, and scriptural in doctrine. The congregation in the lower part of the church was tolerably numerous, but in the gallery, where I sat, the auditors were very few in number, and the conduct of some individuals very indecorous. The poor blacks at the remote end were much more sedate and attentive than most of the whites. The sermon which I heard in the Presbyterian church was by no means equal to the other. A considerable number of the students of Union College sat in the gallery, but they and others showed too much of the same levity which I remarked in the gallery of the Dutch church. There is an Episcopal and a Methodist church here, besides the two already mentioned. There are also some Sabbath schools, but I could not learn their number nor any thing respecting their management.

On leaving Schenectady, the first day's ride warned me of what might be expected on the succeeding ones. The weather was broken, the roads rough and deep, the stage waggon crowded with passengers and luggage, and the party but very moderately agreeable.

The stage waggon which is still used in this part of the country, corresponds exactly with the picture and description which Weld has given. The

body is rather long in proportion to its breadth, and contains four seats, each holding three passengers who all sit with their faces towards the horses. From the height of the seats it is open all round, and the roof is supported by slender shafts rising up at the corners and sides; in wet weather a leathern apron is let down at the sides and back, to protect the inmates. The waggon has no door, but the passengers get in by the front, stepping over the seats as they go backward; the driver sits on the front seat with a passenger on either hand. The heavier kinds of boxes and trunks are fastened behind, upon the frame of the carriage, but the smaller articles and the mail bag are huddled under the seats in the inside, to the great annoyance of the passengers, who are frequently forced to sit with their knees up to their mouths, or with their feet insinuated between two trunks, where they are most lovingly compressed whenever the vehicle makes a lurch into a rut. The body of the waggon is suspended upon two stout leathern straps, passing lengthways under it, and secured upon strongly propped horizontal bars before and behind.

Leaving Schenectady we crossed the Mohawk by a roofed wooden bridge, a thousand feet in length, and the road skirted for a considerable distance the northern bank of the river, affording us a view of some of the rapids and the mode of navigating them. The boats which are used here

are very long and shallow, and nearly flat in the bottom. They are navigated by five men; one at the stern manages a long steering oar, broad in the blade and bending down with a sweep into the water, but projecting so far over the boat as to be easily raised out, and thus combining the advantages of a rudder and an oar; the other four row or pole the boat as necessity requires. The poles appear to be about ten feet long, the point is shod with iron, and at the top is a round flattened head. Along each side of the boat from the bow to the stern is a narrow footway, crossed at short intervals with small pieces of wood like the feet of a ladder. In ascending a rapid, the men go to the bow of the boat, two on each side, and with their faces towards the stern thrust their poles into the channel; then bending forward, they oppose the upper part of the shoulder to the head of the pole, and catching by the cross pieces of wood, work their way on hands and feet towards the stern. This laborious process is patiently reiterated, till at length the strength and rapidity of the current are overcome, and the boat brought once more into smooth water.

While passing through a wood, in the forenoon, we met a large party of blacks of both sexes, in gay holiday dresses; one of the men carried a large tambourine, and from the aspect of the party it was obvious that they had assembled for a merry-making. A person in the stage informed us that

they were slaves, and that this was one of three holidays which they were allowed in the year. This was to me a new spectacle, and one that suggested painful reflections. Even the holiday of a slave is a melancholy sight, and in 'the land of liberty' particularly revolting. "Slaves cannot breathe in England,"—would that they could not breathe in America either!

The roads through which we drove, (it was literally *through*,) had so shaken our waggon, that after nine hours' jolting one of the straps gave way, and we were brought to astand by the carriage sinking down upon the pole. Americans are not easily disconcerted. There was a rail fence by the road side, from which the driver selected a stout rafter, long enough to reach from the footboard in front to the after axle, the body of the waggon was hove up by our united energies, and the wooden substitute for a spring was thrust under it. We then resumed our seats and jolted on, quite unconscious of any additional inconvenience from riding on a rail. At the next inn we obtained another waggon.

At nine o'clock in the evening we reached East Canada Creek, about forty-six miles from Schenectady, and got supper and lodging at a country tavern.

At four next morning we were roused to renew our journey. The rain was falling copiously, and the roads were improving in *depth*, every yard that we advanced. Between eight and nine we stop-

ped for breakfast at the village of Little Falls, so called from a cascade in the Mohawk.

On getting into motion after breakfast I could not help looking out with some degree of despondency, on the prospect before us. The village through which we passed was unpaved, and deep mud extended from house to house, except where a log of timber here and there afforded a narrow footing to the pedestrian. The merciless rain dropped upon us through numerous chinks in the roof of our vehicle, and was blown in at the front and sides, in spite of the leathern apron with which we were surrounded. The horses were wading up to the knees, and occasionally past them; while at short intervals the carriage made sudden plunges to right or left, knocking the passengers against each other, and bruising our limbs on the boxes. It was something the very reverse of comforting to reflect, that there were upwards of two hundred miles between us and Buffalo, and that the roads, if the rain continued would become progressively worse as we advanced; while it was but here and there that we could expect a comfortable inn, and never a comfortable carriage.

My forebodings of disaster seemed to hasten to an accomplishment, when, after advancing a few miles, we reached the bank of a river in which the bare stone piers of a bridge rose above the flood, without any superincumbent arches or platform. But this contingency seemed no way to discompose

our phlegmatic driver, who very coolly brought us to the brink, emptied us and our luggage into two or three small boats, and leaving us to find our way across turned his horses' heads towards the village from which we had started.

The rain here agreed to a temporary but very opportune cessation of hostilities, and the contents of the stage, animate and inanimate, were soon safely landed on the opposite bank. Here we learned that the wooden floor of the bridge had accompanied the ice down the river in the early part of the spring; no stage was in waiting to receive the passengers, and we found it necessary to send notice of our arrival to the next town, two miles distant. While two of my fellow travellers set forward on this service, the others rambled about to explore the neighbourhood, and I was left beside the luggage upon the bank, sole guardian of the United States' Mail, which seemed to excite as little interest as if it had been a bag of old clothes.

Having got again into motion we passed through the flourishing little town of Herkimer, situate in the midst of what is called the German Flats. This is esteemed a very fertile district of the country, but for the present every thing presented to us a dreary prospect.

The road now became hilly and continued so for some miles. After we had slowly ascended the successive acclivities, we reached a more level country,

and found a harder surface than we had hitherto known. Our driver seemed inclined that we should enjoy the variety, and urged his horses to a very hard trot, which occasionally broke into a canter; our stage rattled furiously along, clearing the stump of a tree or a large stone, with a bound and a shock which jarred every bone in my body. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon we reached Utica, thirty eight miles from our place of starting.

Had time and opportunity admitted of it I should willingly have spent a few hours at Utica, in acquiring information about the progress of the western canal, which is to pass close by the town; but the evening was occupied with matters which more immediately concerned my present comfort. Unacquainted with American travelling, I had unfortunately brought with me a trunk which was too large to be admitted into the interior of the waggon, and had therefore been exposed without covering to the long continued rain, and the unmerciful shaking which was inseparable from resting upon the frame of the carriage, without the intervention of springs; its dimensions procured me the additional pleasure, of paying nearly as much for its transportation as for my own. On overhauling its contents I found my clothes and books, from the united effects of soaking and friction, in a sad condition; the aspect of affairs had been no way brightened by a furious contest which had taken place, in the wooden tray at the top, between some specimens of

rocks from the Cohoes fall, and an unlucky box of charcoal, which disinclination to toothache had induced me to carry along with me. A pleasant afternoon's work I had of it, as you may readily believe.

At four o'clock next morning, in darkness and rain, we resumed our seats and drove forward, leaving the course of the Mohawk by which we had hitherto travelled, and inclining more to the westward. The roads were now worse than ever. The horses could only advance at a slow walk, and the driver had to take his chance of the road, for in the ocean of mud before us, selection of one part rather than another was out of the question. Now and then the poor cattle were floundering almost up to the neck, and on one occasion the leaders plunged so deep that one got a mouthful of mud which nearly choked him.

After breakfast we passed through a village of the Oneyda Indians, and saw a few of the wretched descendants of that once powerful tribe. Both men and women presented a disheartening spectacle of squalidness and poverty, but fallen and degraded as they are the behaviour of the women was perfectly decorous; they shunned us as much as possible, and whenever we did meet unvariably drew their blankets completely round them, bringing them up on the face so as to leave only the upper part of it visible. They live in small log huts apparently without windows, and scattered at a consider-

able distance from each other. Part of the ground round their cottages was surrounded by rail fences, but I did not observe any other marks of cultivation.

Our course now lay through the Oneyda wood where the road ascended a pretty steep hill, and besides being as deep as that through which we had come, was encumbered with stumps of trees. The rain still fell, but as it was comparatively moderate and as there was a kind of foot path through the wood, we agreed to relieve the poor horses by walking. The footing was soft and slippery; occasionally we had to leap from one prostrate trunk to another, and again to make a circuit of considerable extent to avoid a quagmire. Had it been possible for an Oneyda warrior of former days to have looked down on our uncouth array, how scornfully would he have smiled at the white men, muffled in great coats, and skulking under umbrellas, feebly dragging their steps round every little pool of water, and turning out of the way to avoid a fallen tree, where he had been accustomed to chase the panther or the deer, with a foot as light as the animal's before him, dashing through opposing torrents, and bounding like an antelope over every obstruction!

Having overcome at length the difficulties of the wood, and begun to descend the opposite side of the hill, we resumed our seats. Scarcely had we begun to move forward when we descried the stage from the westward coming slowly up, with the passengers

straggling here and there around it. We learned on meeting that they had just recovered their feet after an upset, and the mud on their clothes sufficiently corroborated the statement; happily no one was hurt, the stage having opportunely turned over against a steep bank by the side of the road. They told us that our turn was coming, but we thought that the roads before us could hardly be worse than those behind, and that with patience and caution we might manage to get through.

About seven in the evening we reached Chittinengo, where we got tea. Off we again started, and while struggling up a very steep hill, our carriage descended into a gap with so violent a shock, that the bolt or pivot on which the front axle turned snapped in two, and the horses had nearly dragged the front wheels from under the body of the waggon. Our driver however was happily provided with a spare bolt, the passengers got out, a stout rail from the nearest fence was thrust under the carriage, and up to the ancles in mud, part on each side, we managed by dint of strength to sustain the waggon till the axle was replaced in its proper position, and the new bolt inserted. At nine o'clock we reached Manlius, but were compelled to jolt on for three hours longer; exactly at midnight we reached Onondago Hollow, and had the comfort to find that our twenty hours' work amounted to no more than fifty miles.

Before our weary frames were half refreshed the

periodical time of starting had come round, and at four o'clock in the morning we resumed our uncomfortable seats. No improvement had taken place in the roads, but the rain had ceased, and of course travelling was somewhat less disagreeable. At ten o'clock we reached Skeneateles, at the upper end of a lake of the same name, a distance of sixteen miles. About two o'clock we passed through the village of Auburn, which has every external appearance of prosperity, but in present circumstances it by no means appeared to us the 'loveliest village of the plain.'[1] About five in the afternoon we reached the Cayuga lake, which is here very nearly a mile in width, and is crossed by a wooden bridge supported upon piles. The wheels of our chariot rolled along the level platform, with a smoothness to which we had long been strangers; and so luxuriant seemed the contrast, that on getting to the farther end, some of the passengers proposed that we should turn the horses and enjoy it a second time!

Ascending the hill from the lake, the bolt in the front axle again gave way; but we had learned the remedy for such mishaps, and soon applied ourselves to the work with energy and success. A few miles farther we passed through the flourishing settlement of Waterloo, built upon the

[1] A new penitentiary has been built here, for the State of New York; and a theological academy has been established, in connexion with the Presbyterian church.

bank of a creek which flows between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes. The situation is most romantic, but the stranger's astonishment is chiefly excited, by the rapidity with which this and many other settlements on this road have started into maturity. The first building was erected only three years ago, and already it possesses a Court House, hotel, and stores in abundance.

A new variety of American roads now commended itself to our attention. A wearisome swamp intervenes between Waterloo and the Seneca Lake, and a yet more wearisome log causeway, affords the means of crossing it. This substitute for a road is composed entirely of the trunks of trees, laid down layer above layer, till a solid but rugged platform is elevated above the level of the marsh. The logs are piled upon each other without any kind of squaring or adjustment, and the jolting of the wheels from one to another is perfectly horrible. Bad however in the superlative degree as such riding is, it was connected in the present instance with additional circumstances of annoyance, not usually attendant. By the heavy and long continued rains the swamp had been converted into a lake, which gradually rising in height had at last completely covered the wooden road. Night had sunk down upon us, and though there was a glimmering of moonlight, it had to struggle through a dense atmosphere of clouds; our charioteer, however, feeling secure in his knowledge of the *chan-*

nel, drove dauntlessly forward, the horses dashed into the water, and very soon our bones bore testimony to the correctness of his pilotage. Well was it for us that the driver's skill was not inferior to his daring, for had he gone to either side of the proper line, horses and waggon, with all that it contained, would probably have found in the marsh their last earthly resting place. Two or three times it seemed as if such a consummation was approaching:—several logs had floated out of their places and left yawning gaps in the causeway, across which our horses might be said to swim rather than walk, and the wheels followed them with a plunge, so sudden and so deep, that it felt as if the bottom of the road had literally fallen out, and our whole establishment were going after it.

About ten o'clock we reached the Seneca lake, and were in hopes that Geneva, the village on its bank, was to terminate our day's toils. In this however we were disappointed. The innkeeper averred that it was absolutely necessary that the mail should go forward to Canandaigua, sixteen miles farther; he assured us that the road was much better than those we had travelled, promised us a comfortable carriage, good horses, and an excellent driver, and said that we should certainly accomplish it in less than four hours.

Persuaded against our own judgment to rely on these promises, we consented to go forward; and a young man with a bugle horn was put into the

carriage beside us, to cheer us forward with its courage-stirring notes. I did not at first suspect the object of this accompaniment, but it soon became obvious that it was intended to prevent our falling asleep. I already mentioned that the stage waggon was open all round, and you would of course attribute the necessity of this to the heat of the climate. It was subservient, however, to another important purpose as well as that of keeping us cool. When the wheels on one side descended into a rut, the passengers immediately threw themselves by a simultaneous motion towards the opposite, and those who were close by the side thrust their heads and shoulders through the opening; this sudden shifting of the centre of gravity counterpoised the waggon's tendency to upset, and we had become by practice so expert in the manœuvre, that often, when the vehicle seemed to tremble on the very turn, the weight of our heads turned the scale in our favour. The prudent landlord at Geneva however knew well, that if we fell asleep, as our long continued fatigues would strongly dispose us to do, our heavy heads in place of being thrust out of the carriage would necessarily make a great addition to the leeward weight within, and to a certainty capsize the machine. He therefore very thoughtfully provided us with a trumpeter, who by singing songs, relating his marvellous adventures, and ever and anon wakening the warlike energies of his instrument, managed

to keep us sufficiently awake to continue our exertions on behalf of the balance of power.[2]

The roads were execrably bad—quite as much so as any which we had yet seen. While the moonlight continued however we managed to get slowly forward, at one time throwing ourselves incessantly from right to left like a ship in a gale of wind, at another heaving to, till the driver dismounted and went forward twenty or thirty yards to take soundings. Oftener than once we were all obliged to get out, scramble over fences and make a circuit, ankle deep, through the adjoining fields, to meet the waggon at the farther end of some deep slough. On one of these occasions, in getting over a worm fence[3] my foot slipped, the upper rail turned over, and

"The skin in blipes cam harlin
Aff's nieves that nicht."

At last the moon set, and we were forced to halt outright. We drew up at a tavern by the road

[2] This youth had been a bugler in the British service, and deserted from the 70th regiment, which was at that time in Fort George. He swam across the Niagara at eleven o'clock at night, dragging after him his bugle and some clothes tied upon a piece of board. The width of the river at the fort is not great, probably about a third of a mile, but the current is very powerful, and there are numerous eddies near the sides; the story which he told us, was afterwards confirmed to one of the party by an officer in the neighbourhood of the fort.

[3] The worm fence is by far the most common in America. It is composed of straight poles or rails, eight or ten feet long, laid hori-

side, roused the inmates, and stretched our wearied limbs by the fire. Some of the passengers comforted themselves with a glass of *egg-nog*,[4] but the sight of it was quite enough for me. Day light at last broke, and at half past five, after divers hair-breadth escapes, we arrived at Canandaigua. The stage from the westward which was to take us forward was expected in a short time; we therefore did not go to bed but washed our glazed and sleepy eyes, and waited impatiently for its arrival.

About ten o'clock we again set forward, but our adventures were so similar to those of former days that I need not fatigue you with a recital. We had another river to cross where the bridge had been carried away, but on this occasion the stage with all its inmates embarked in a flat bottomed *scow*, as it is called, large enough to contain it without unyoking the horses; we got safely across, but the scene reminded me of the picture of a cat set afloat in a wooden dish.

zontally in a zigzag direction, so that the ends cross and rest upon each other. It needs no nails to secure it, and although it occupies five or six times as much ground as a straight fence, ground is a cheap article here; it is usually piled to the height of seven or eight rails.

[4] A compound of milk, raw eggs, spirits and sugar, violently agitated by a stirrer which is twirled round between the hands. In the instance referred to, one of the passengers after turning off his tumbler, and smacking his mouth, insisted that it had been made with *raw* sugar; this the tavern-keeper stoutly denied, and as we afterwards discovered with truth, for he had no sugar of any kind in the house and had substituted molasses.

At seven o'clock in the evening we reached Avon, upon the bank of the Genessee river, only twenty four miles from Canandaigua. There we stopped to get tea, and I felt myself so much overcome with fatigue, want of sleep, and a violent headache, that I resolved to give up the contest and let the stage go forward without me.

I do not think that I ever felt so thoroughly knocked up, to use an expressive phrase, as on this occasion; and I was not without some degree of apprehension that serious indisposition might be the consequence of it. Happily, however, little else was necessary to restore me than a comfortable night's rest; I went to bed almost as soon as the stage had started, and having slept without interruption for nearly twelve hours, I felt on awakening wonderfully revived.

It was now Saturday, and as no stage was to pass till Monday afternoon, it was necessary that I should either find some private means of conveyance, or content myself for two days where I was. My landlord seemed somewhat inclined that I should make up my mind to the latter alternative, for on asking him to provide me with a small waggon,[5] I found that he would not accept of less than five dollars, twenty two and sixpence sterling,

[5] We have nothing exactly resembling the American Dearborn, or one horse waggon. It is a very low and light carriage upon four wheels, containing a movable seat upon wooden springs which holds two; there is room enough behind the seat for two or three trunks,

for conveying me fourteen miles; with this demand I was not inclined to comply, and after making a little enquiry I bargained with a man, who had emigrated from Wiltshire, to convey me sixteen miles for two dollars.

The rain had ceased during the night, and the sky was clear and pleasant; the first time it had been so for a week. The Englishman was intelligent and not unwilling to talk, the road rather better than most which we had seen, although we found it sometimes necessary to make a circuit through the fields, and the ride was altogether tolerably agreeable. Our conversation turned, not unnaturally, upon the comparative advantages of Britain and America; my driver agreed that if people were sober and industrious they might generally get along very well in either. His anticipations, he acknowledged, had been too sanguine when he came out, but although not gratified to their full extent, he said that upon the whole he had no reason to complain. He kept a tavern, that is a small country inn, or rather occupied one which was generally left to the management of his wife, while he wrought for the neighbouring farmers, or whoever needed him, with his horse and waggon. He said that none succeeded better in that neighbourhood than my countrymen, of whom there was

and it is altogether a very convenient vehicle. A plain one may be had for about £10 sterling; sometimes they are finished with considerable elegance, and provided with a covering like a gig.

a thriving settlement named Caledonia through which we should pass. He paid them the usual compliment of saying that they stuck together amazingly, and assisted each other out of difficulties; so that whatever hardships individuals might suffer at the outset, they were as a community generally prosperous in the end. About two hours' riding brought us to Caledonia, a very neat little village, where the Englishman stopped to feed his horse; he called out a store-keeper to shake hands with a young countryman just imported, and a multitude of questions were showered upon me about the *land of cakes*, with many good wishes for it and its children.

About three in the afternoon we reached Le Roy which completed our sixteen miles; I urged him to carry me forward the next stage also, but as it was Saturday he thought there might be more customers at his tavern in the evening, than his wife alone could attend to, and therefore wished to be at home. I could say nothing against the reasonableness of this argument, so shook hands with him and parted. The innkeeper at Le Roy supplied me with another waggon, to take me forward to Batavia, ten miles farther, which I reached in safety after several miles' jolting over a log causeway.

Batavia is a small straggling town containing about 200 inhabitants. It contains a Court House, which serves also for a church; and on Sabbath I

went to hear sermon. Who or what the minister was, I did not learn, but his abilities were of a very moderate kind; his forenoon service did not extend to an hour altogether, and that of the afternoon was very little more. In the evening there was what is called a conference; a common thing with various denominations in this country. The minister was not present, but several individuals spoke in familiar language on devotional subjects, some of whom pleased me much better than the preacher had done.

Sabbath was a warm and agreeable day, and I was in hopes that the weather was going to become settled. In the evening however the sky was overcast, a large nebulous circle surrounded the moon, and I recollected the Scotish proverb, *a far brugh, a near storm.*

Monday verified the saying; it was cloudy and cold in the forenoon, and very wet in the afternoon. After ineffectually attempting to hire a waggon, I found it necessary to await the arrival of the stage. To occupy a vacant hour I entered a flour mill, and was conducted by the miller through every part of it; on taking leave, he thanked me politely for having called.

Next morning at five we left Batavia; and at six in the evening, after a most disagreeable ride of forty miles, reached Buffalo. It rained almost incessantly; and for more than a third of the road, we had to jolt once more over a log causeway.

Such was my first journey to the shores of lake Erie. My second was as different as possible; and, by way of contrast, I shall hastily run over it.

I left Schenectady on the second occasion about six in the morning, and reached Utica, 80 miles distant, in the evening. The weather was good, sharp indeed in the morning but very warm in the forenoon, and we could now enjoy the beautiful scenery on the banks of the Mohawk. At Little Falls the river passes through a wild mountainous ravine, now rushing over shelving falls, now whirling and foaming round a projecting point, or detached masses of rock; on both sides the banks are rocky and precipitous, and a few dwarfish trees start from among the crevices;—if it were not for the waggon in which you travel, you could almost suppose yourself in the neighbourhood of the Troshachs.

From Utica we started the following morning between four and five o'clock, and about seven in the evening reached Skeneateles, a distance of 66 miles. The orchards by the side of the road were loaded with fruit, and large quantities lying about which had dropped from the trees. Next morning at half-past five we left Skeneateles, crossed the Cayuga lake by the long wooden bridge, and reached Canandaigua about three; it seemed a very paradise to that Canandaigua, which I had entered with the bugler in the waggon beside me, after the dreary night of wading and jolting.

I spent Sabbath at Canandaigua, and attended the Presbyterian church three times. The regular minister did not preach on this occasion, but his place was supplied by a stranger whom I heard with much pleasure. His forenoon discourse was from these words, "Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." In the afternoon he selected a verse from the Epistle of Jude, "—unto the judgment of the great day;" and in the evening, Cornelius's concluding remark to the Apostle Peter, "Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God." In the morning discourse, he expounded most clearly the doctrine of salvation through the atonement of the Lord Jesus, vindicating his essential divinity, and proclaiming the dreadful and eternal condemnation of unbelievers. In the afternoon he enlarged upon the subjects of death and judgment; and particularly alluded to the distinction, which God in his sovereignty had made, between apostate angels and fallen man. In the evening he enforced the duty of sanctifying the Lord's day, and of meeting as frequently as possible during the week for social worship; he concluded by reminding us of the importance of doing all in our power, by influence and example, in the various relations of life, to extend the knowledge and practice of religion. I was much gratified by these discourses, and by the earnestness and zeal of the

preacher. There are other two churches in Canandaigua, one of which belongs to the Episcopalian body.

I became acquainted with only one family here; the younger branches of it are all engaged in conducting Sabbath schools. I visited one of them, and was pleased with the appearance of order which it exhibited; one of the scholars was an Irish emigrant, who read well, and had been but a short time before totally ignorant of the alphabet.

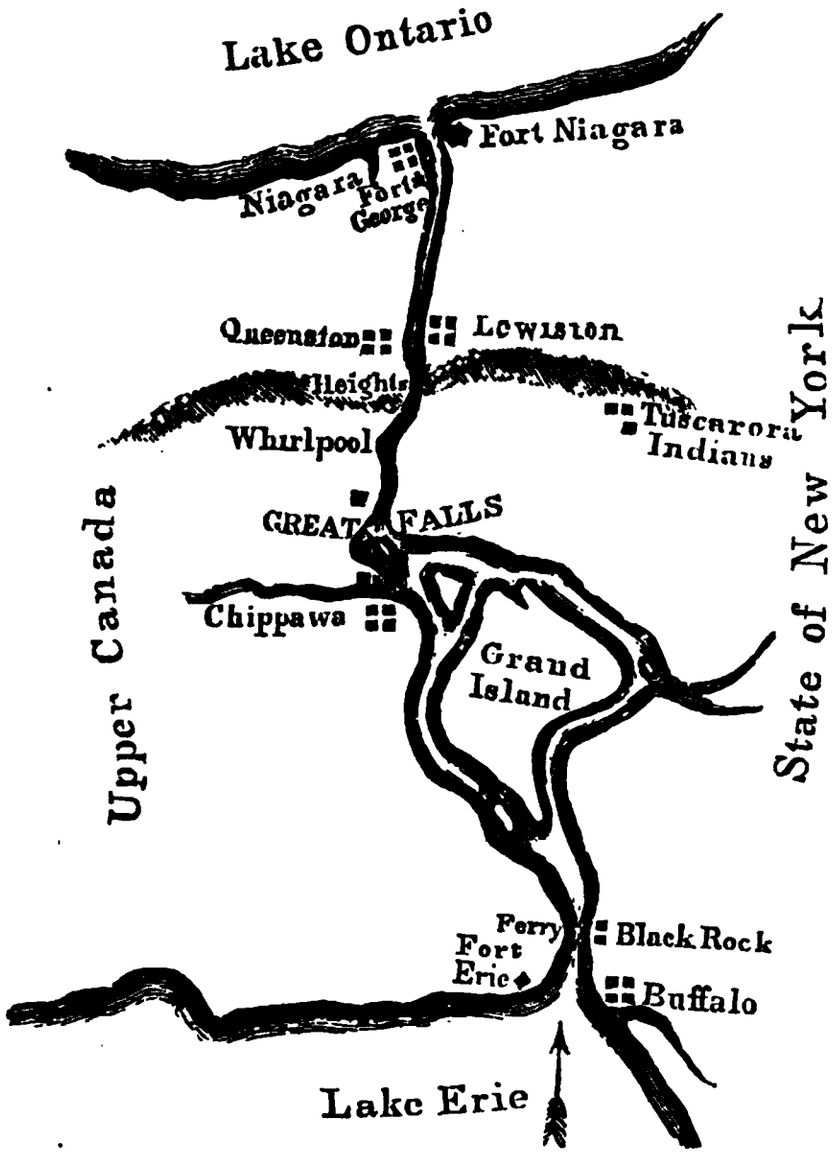
On Monday morning I left Canandaigua; passed through Avon, where I had given up the struggle on the former occasion, and got on to Batavia, from which on the following day we came forward to Buffalo:—thus accomplishing with great ease and comfort in six days, what I had with great difficulty and distress effected on the former occasion in ten.

Buffalo is a busy little town, containing about six hundred inhabitants, occupying a beautiful situation at the lower extremity of lake Erie. It was burnt to ashes by the British troops during last war, as a measure of retaliation for the previous destruction of York and Niagara. What a dreadful scourge is war! A passenger in the stage pointed out to me a log hut, a mile or two from the town, in which he told me he saw about a hundred men, women, and children, take shelter on the night of the conflagration. The inn at which I lodge has a sign-board, swinging between two lofty poles, bearing the American Eagle as its device, which is

completely riddled with balls; it was almost the only article which escaped the flames. This sign-board, and the blackened ruins of a brick house, are almost the only marks which I have traced of the destruction of the town. Like Washington, it has risen from its ashes with probably more than its former vigour. It contains a bank, and a very considerable number of large and substantially built brick houses.

Buffalo stands close by the mouth of a small creek, which affords a harbour for the trading vessels. A small light-house has been recently built, to guide the benighted mariner to its sheltering haven; and a large steam boat has just begun to navigate the lake, which is appropriately named, after a celebrated Indian chief, *Walk-in-the-water*. The position of the town is very favourable for commerce. The great western canal will terminate within two miles of it, and it will then become the great thoroughfare between the lower country, and lake Erie, the State of Ohio, and the rest of the western territory. At present, however, the inhabitants are labouring under great difficulties, in consequence of the events of the war. It was expected that Government would have indemnified the citizens, at least to a considerable extent, for the destruction of their property; and in this hope capitalists lent many of them money, to rebuild their houses and recommence business. Congress, however, has recently, to their great disappointment, refused to afford them the smallest relief.

LETTER XIII.


Lake Ontario
Fort Niagara
Niagara
Fort George
Queenston
Lewiston
Heights
Tuscarora Indians
Whirlpool
GREAT FALLS
Upper Canada
State of New York
Chippawa
Grand Island
Perry
Fort Erie
Black Rock
Buffalo
Lake Erie

LETTER XIII.

RIVER NIAGARA—BLACK ROCK—WESTERN BANK OF THE RIVER—GRAND ISLAND—CHIPPAWA—GOAT ISLAND—GREAT RAPID—FIRST VIEW OF THE FALLS—EDGE OF THE PRECIPICE—RECENT DISRUPTION OF THE BANK—TABLE ROCK—LADDER—BOTTOM OF THE PRECIPICE—RAINBOW—VIEW BY MOONLIGHT—DIFFERENT POINTS OF SIGHT—MEASUREMENT OF THE FALLS—THEORIES OF GEOLOGISTS—WHIRLPOOL—QUEENSTON.

Niagara, October, 1818.

THE Falls of Niagara [1] have been so frequently described, and the whole vocabulary of sublimity so completely exhausted in the service, that it seems doubtful whether it would not be better to pass them by in silence, and refer you for an account of them to the narratives of former travellers. I am more desirous to sketch a correct picture of the moral, than of the physical characteristics of America, and yet it would perhaps be improper that the latter should be altogether excluded. I have given you an account of many objects much less celebrated and

[1] Said to be an Iroquois word, signifying *the thunder of waters*. The Indians pronounce it Niagāra, but Americans and Canadians universally Niágăra; the latter accentuation is sanctioned by the author of 'Letters of the Fudge Family,' who proposes in one of them

"——— 'stead of pistol or dagger, a
Desperate leap down the falls of Niagara."

important than these tremendous cataracts, and having visited them twice, consistency perhaps requires that they should occupy a page or two in my narrative. I ask your indulgence therefore to what follows, and if I cannot be poetical I shall try at least to be correct.

The Niagara, though called a river, would be more accurately described as a natural canal, through which the waters of lake Erie[2] pass northward into lake Ontario. The level of lake Ontario is greatly lower than that of lake Erie; I do not know that the difference has ever been accurately ascertained, but it has been estimated at 450 feet. I am inclined to think however that this is very considerably above the truth, and should suppose 350 to be a nearer approximation.[3] Of this descent, rather more than 200 feet are accomplished at the great falls, nearly midway between the two lakes, and the remainder in the gradual declivity of the channel above and below them.

The traveller crosses from the American to the Canadian side at Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo. The channel is here about a mile in width, and the water issues from lake Erie in a very deep and impetuous current; the ferry-boat describes a very considerable curve before reaching the Canadian shore.

[2] Pronounced *Eery*.

[3] This may now be correctly ascertained from the levels of the great western canal.

It was on a beautiful morning that I last left Buffalo; the sky was clear and the air perfectly serene. Not a single cloud was seen upon the broad expanse, except in the northwest, on the very verge of the horizon, where two little fleecy specks appeared and disappeared at intervals; sometimes rising separately, and sometimes mingling their vapours. These were clouds of spray rising above the falls; perfectly conspicuous to the naked eye at a distance of twenty miles.[4]

The western bank of the Niagara has been settled for a considerable period; the land is of excellent quality, and a great part of it cleared and cultivated. It will no doubt be a long time, ere the whole landscape assume that unpicturesque commonplace, which is produced by ploughing and harrowing, levelling and enclosing; many an axe must be raised, and many a lofty pine-tree measure its length upon the ground, ere waving grain displace all the shaggy forests which stretch around. Time however, that silent but most innovating of reformers, is working wondrous changes on this western world; and his operations are nowhere so apparent as on the banks of navigable streams. In a few years, perhaps, the noise of the cataracts may be drowned in the busy hum of men; and the smoke

[4] Weld says that he saw the clouds of spray from the falls, while sailing on lake Erie, at a distance of 54 miles. From the appearance which they presented at a distance of 20 miles, I am inclined to think this not at all improbable.

of clustering towns, or more crowded cities, obscure on the horizon the clouds of spray, which at present tower without a rival.

Passing along the bank you soon reach Grand Island, embraced in the forking of the river. Each arm of the stream is more than a mile in width; the western channel is the boundary between the British and American possessions, and this island, nearly seven miles long and containing between twenty and thirty thousand acres, is of course left within the territory of New York. It is of an irregular lozenge shape, and as yet thickly covered with pines and cedars.

Passing Grand Island, and Navy Island a smaller one which succeeds it, the stream becomes about two miles and a half wide, and you reach Chippawa creek, village, and fort, between two and three miles above the falls. Here terminates the navigation of the upper part of the Niagara, for the rapidity of the stream soon increases so considerably, that vessels cannot with safety venture farther. The change becomes very soon obvious on the surface of the water. Neither waves however, nor any violent agitation is visible for some time; you see only

"The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below."

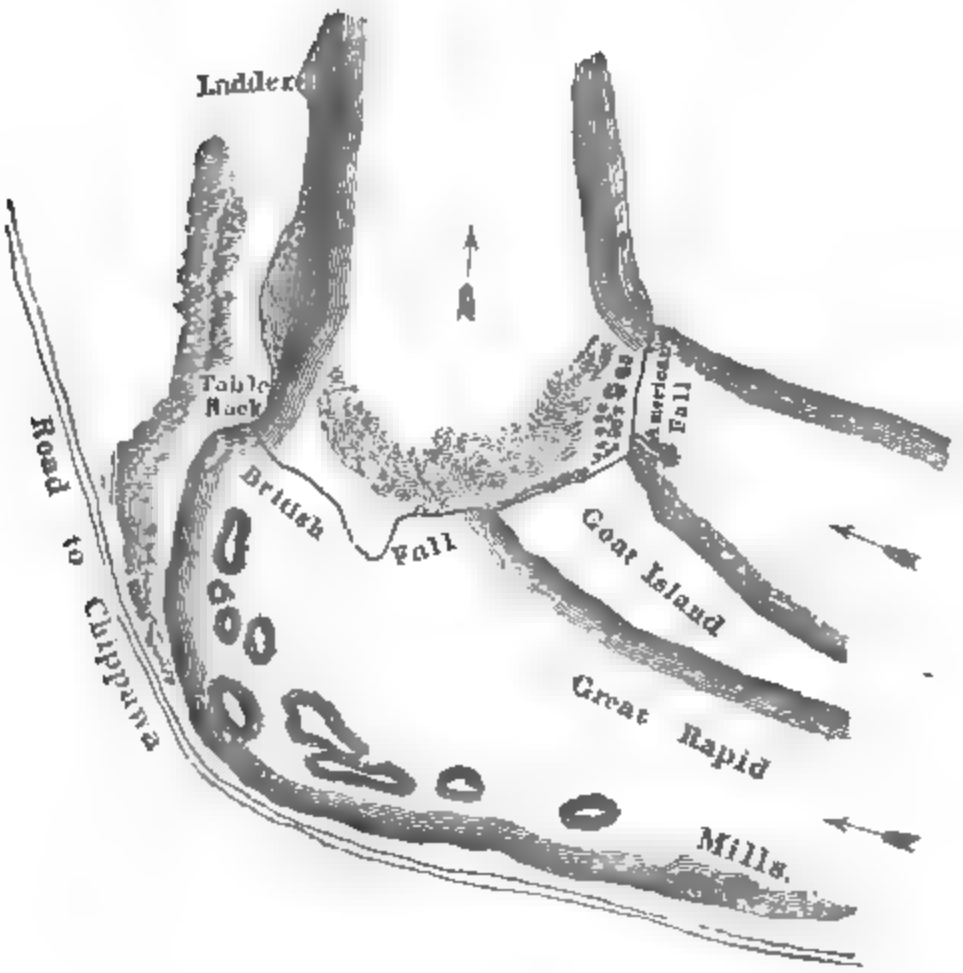
Dimples and indented lines, with here and there a little eddying whirl, run along near the shore; betokening at once the depth of the channel, the vast body of water, and the accelerated impetus with

which it hurries along. Every straw also that floats past, though motionless upon the bosom of the river and undisturbed by a single ripple, is the index of an irresistible influence, which sweeps to one common issue all within its grasp.

Goat Island, the lowest of all, now appears inserted like a wedge in the centre of the stream. By it the river is divided into two currents, which issue in the two great falls; and the nearer channel shelves down into a steep and rocky declivity, over which an extensive rapid foams and rushes with prodigious fury. Before reaching the island the traveller remarks at a distance the agitated billows, then the white crested breakers, and at length he has a full view of the rapid, nearly a mile in length, the immediate and most appropriate prelude to the great fall.

Nearly opposite the middle of Goat Island the channel of the rapid suddenly widens, encroaching with a considerable curvature upon the bank, as if a portion of the water sought to shun by a circuitous route its inevitable destiny. In this little bay, if it may be so called, are a number of islets covered with wood, and to all appearance securely anchored amid the brawling torrent; but before approaching them, you discover with surprise that the daring foot of man has ventured to descend the steep bank, to erect a cluster of mills, which dip their water wheels into the impetuous rapid. Immediately below, the shore bends to the right, contracting the

channel, and throwing back the reluctant water which had left the main current; and immediately the whole is engulfed in the great Horse Shoe Fall, which like an immense cauldron sends up to the sky a stupendous column of smoke and spray.



A few minutes' ride now gives you the first view of the falls. The road winds along pretty close by the bank of the stream, till past the centre of the great rapid, where the channel makes the returning bend to the right. The road does not follow this

bend, but going very nearly straight forward, recedes of course very considerably from the bank. The level of the road is by this time greatly higher than the surface of the river, which begins gradually to descend near Chippawa, and sinks about fifty feet in perpendicular height, between the commencement of the rapid and its termination. As the distance increases a little between the road and the bank, the vast concave of the falls of Niagara begins to open upon your view, inclining towards the road at an angle of about forty-five degrees. First you see the American fall, the farther extremity of the semicircle, breaking in a broad white sheet of foam upon a heap of rocks below. Close by its inner extremity is a gush of water which in any other situation would be esteemed a considerable cascade, but here seems but a fragment of the larger cataract separated by a small island or rock in the bed of the river. The eye then rests upon the precipitous end of Goat Island, consisting of accumulated masses of stone, in horizontal strata, supporting a scanty covering of earth, and crowded to the edge with pines. Last of all, about a third part of the concave of the British fall rounds into prospect; the remainder is concealed by the bend, and the elevation of the intervening bank. From the interior of this vast semicircle the spray is volumed upwards in prodigious masses, which conceal at intervals various portions of the scenery; and the deep hollow thun-

der of the cataracts is mingled with the roar of the long and angry rapid.

Perhaps you may ask, what was the impression produced on my mind by the first view of the falls? Decidedly that of disappointment. "And are these," thought I, "the great falls of Niagara, which I have been accustomed to think of with such profound astonishment, ever since I unfolded 'Science in sport, or the Pleasures of Natural Philosophy,' and read the wonderful account which is there given of them?"

> "——— well,
> What monstrous lies some travellers will tell!"

Disappointment is I believe a very common feeling when strangers first visit these cataracts. They have gathered their ideas of them from books of Geography and Travels, in which all the parts of speech, and degrees of comparison, are fatigued by a seemingly fruitless effort to sketch the stupendous scene. On the second occasion of my visiting them, the party consisted of five besides myself, and four of them returned to the tavern perfectly out of humour with the falls, and all who had ever written or spoken in their praise.

In my first visit I was quite alone, and piloted my way from the tavern to the edge of the precipitous bank, by the directions which I received from the landlord. Crossing a field or two, which slope from the road towards the river, a little below the

falls, I reached a small distillery, past which a kind of foot path conducts to the edge of the bank. The ground is marshy for a considerable space up and down, with a good deal of brushwood scattered about, but part of it had been cut away from the brow of the precipice, to afford a view of the falls.

I looked cautiously over the brink. The water was foaming past, about a hundred and sixty feet below me; beyond it rose the bank on the American side, precipitous and rocky, and away to the right the immense basin, into which the waters were thundering, and from which the columns of spray were towering up in misty grandeur.

Turning to the right I followed a narrow path, which skirted the edge of the bank; but stepped slowly and with caution, for I had read alarming accounts of the abundance of rattlesnakes in this quarter, and I had a very sincere horror of such society. Before reaching the Table Rock, as it is called, at which this path terminates, I stopped behind a few bushes upon a projecting edge, from which I enjoyed a commanding prospect of the wonders before me. A larger portion of the amphitheatre was now in sight, and the roar, and rushing, and descent of the waters, increasingly grand. While I stood gazing here, I heard a rustling of the leaves beside me. I listened;—it ceased. I turned my eyes again towards the falls—the rustling was repeated, and it evidently proceeded from about the roots of the bushes. A cold quivering ran hastily

over me, I expected to see two fiery eyeballs glaring from among the grass, and feared to stir from the spot, lest I should tread upon the reptile's tail. I looked down in eager anxiety, and at last a little bird hopped out from under the lower branches, where it had probably been making its supper on a worm. So terminates, thought I, with a deep respiration this alarming adventure!

After spending about two hours, surveying the wonders of the place from different situations, I returned to the tavern; and under the expectation of being able to revisit the spot in the course of a few days, started early next morning for the town from which I now write. Let me here however warn you never to delay viewing an object of curiosity, merely because you have the prospect of seeing it at some future period. I had allotted for my second visit a descent to the bottom of the falls; but after reaching lake Ontario, I found it necessary to embark almost immediately, and pursue my course down the St. Lawrence. I was not then aware that I should return over the same route in the autumn, and it was therefore with sincere regret that I reflected on my premature eagerness to leave the falls, in the hope of getting back to them. Last week however brought me again to the spot, and I resolved that on this occasion, I should leave as little as possible to the chance of a future visit.

The falls made a more powerful impression on my mind when they opened to view for the second

time, on the road from Chippawa. The American fall appeared broader, deeper, much more imposing, than when I first saw it. The craggy end of Goat Island[5] seemed more precipitous and grand; a bald eagle was perched upon its very edge, close by the side of the British fall, and waved its pinions in safety over the profound abyss. The curve of the British fall next circled in, and the recollection of how much was still hid from view, powerfully aided the combined effect.

After an early dinner, the party with whom I came set out for a nearer view. During the summer, the American newspapers had announced that the whole of the Table Rock had given way, and been precipitated into the channel of the river; I was therefore eager to ascertain the extent of the mischief. We got over the rail fences of two fields, and passing the distillery to which I have already alluded, reached the edge of the precipice. On looking to the right, I at once remarked the great change which had taken place. From within a few feet of where I stood, the bank which had formerly run forward nearly in a straight line towards the Table Rock, now presented a great concavity. The foot path along which I had formerly walked,

[5] The Genius of Poetry seems to have paid a visit to the falls since I was last there. I observe that Mr. Schoolcraft, and another recent American traveller, talk of 'Iris Island,' and the 'Pavilion,' and the 'Ontario Hotel,' names which were not in existence when I was there. 'Goat Island' was probably never seen by a goat, but its new appellation is too sentimental. (1823.)

and the bushes behind which I had stood, had all disappeared:—the rock upon whose deceitful support they rested, had suddenly given way, from top to bottom, and a mass, as we were informed, about 160 feet in length, and from 30 to 40 in breadth,[6] upon which I had formerly imagined myself in security, now lay shattered into ten thousand fragments at the bottom of the precipice. I cannot describe my emotions in contemplating the scene before me. I had trode where the foot of man will never tread again—I had stood and walked, where nothing but the invisible atmosphere is now incumbent.

The final disruption of this mass took place about midnight in the month of July or August. The landlord of the tavern had walked over it the preceding afternoon with two ladies and a gentleman; they returned the following day to view the frightful chasm, and one of the ladies shed tears at the spectacle.

A new path, winding considerably backward from the brow of the cliff, has been cut through the brushwood with which the marsh abounds, and a line of planks conducts the traveller to the Table Rock. The rent extended to within a few yards of this celebrated spot, but no part of it gave way; how long it may be ere it does so, none can say.

The top of the Table Rock forms a circular platform of considerable area, on the same level,

[6] Marked by a dotted line in the cut, on page 36.

and in immediate contact, with the western extremity of the British fall. It extends backward for several yards, and I put the point of my shoe into the water, with perfect safety, immediately before it was precipitated from the cliff. In front the rock projects some feet beyond the line of the fall, and of the inferior mass of rocks upon which it is supported; it requires not a little nerve to approach the edge, but the landlord told us that he has seen people sitting with their feet hanging over it, coolly engaged in sketching a view of the falls. It was not without considerable timidity that I crept near enough to look over, close by the brink of the water; but the sight of the gulph below repays the effort, and indeed is one that can never be forgotten. The water breaks into spray at the very top, and sends up a steam from the inexplorable abyss, which shrouds all below in most terrific obscurity. A portion of the vapour rises between the descending water and the rock, and comes whirling out in the most violent agitation; and the deep hollow sound of the cataract, reverberating from the rocky caverns, completes the elements of sublimity with which the scene is charged.

Leaving the Table Rock we returned by the winding foot-path, and a short way below the road from the distillery we reached the ladder, which conducts to the bed of the river. I had imagined that there must be a good deal of danger connected with descending, but on the contrary it is perfectly

safe. The top of the ladder[6] is secured between the stumps of two trees, against the side of a deep gash in the rock, and slopes down along the face of the precipice, the lower end resting upon a large accumulation of soil and rock which has formerly fallen from above.

There is some difficulty however in getting forward, after having arrived at the foot of the ladder. The path lies to the right along a sloping bank of earth and stones, alternately rising and falling, though ultimately descending as you approach the falls. The footway is so narrow that it admits of no more than one abreast; it is besides wet and slippery throughout, and in many places encumbered with fragments of rock. To look up is frightful; in some places the higher stratum of rock overhangs the rest most threateningly, and the fissures are so numerous, that the whole fabric of the bank seems to be held together by a most precarious cohesion. Your progress is also impeded by the thick rain which is every where descending; sometimes filtering through the seams of the rock, sometimes falling in heavy drops from its edge, as from the eaves of a house, and in two or three places spouting upon you in a continued stream. This water proceeds from the marsh above, and by

[6] Mr. Howison says that there is now a spiral staircase inclosed in a wooden building; this is an improvement since my last visit. *Howison's Upper Canada, p.* 96. 1*st. Edit.*

gradually washing out the earth was doubtless the cause of the bank's giving way last summer.

With considerable exertion, and not without being completely drenched, we made our way to the fragments of the large portion which fell. The separation had taken place from top to bottom, in a straight line, leaving the new surface which was disclosed, perfectly smooth and perpendicular. A deep rent is quite evident behind that part which supports the Table Rock, and in all probability some future traveller will have to record its fall. It was not till now that we could form any adequate idea of the prodigious extent of the ruin. Large masses lay hurled across the declivity, and piled one upon another, so as to render walking both difficult and dangerous. Some large pieces seemed so nicely poised upon each other, that a slight touch would have overset them, and communicated motion to all that were near.

Desirous of getting to the bottom of the great fall, I made my way about half way over the scattered masses, but when I felt some of them rocking under me, and saw that no one of the party ventured to follow, I thought prudence required that I should turn. Before facing about, however, I broke from the edge of a large block of limestone a piece of portable dimensions which was penetrated by veins of white crystals, and contained in a cleft in one end of it a fine group very regularly formed.

I now stood and surveyed the wondrous scene

before me, mentally comparing the view of the falls from below, with that which I had enjoyed from the Table Rock. Of the magnitude and force of the descending torrents, we have here a much more impressive conception; for as we see no part of the rapids above, and indeed nothing of the flood till it has begun its decent from the cliff, the mind is occupied almost entirely with the height, and width, and grandeur, of the two enormous cascades. We look up in amazement, at the unintermitted pouring of so vast an accumulation of waters; and were this the only view which could be obtained, it would seem an inscrutable mystery, from what source so immeasurable a volume of fresh water could be constantly poured forth.

The noise of the falls is of course greatly increased below; indeed it thunders in the ear most overpoweringly. I use the term *thunders*, for want of a more appropriate one, but it by no means conveys any adequate idea of the awfully deep and unvarying sound.

To heighten the splendour of the scene, a magnificent rainbow, pencilled on the clouds of spray, and perfectly unbroken from end to end, overarched the space between the one bank and the other, at the widest part. This in so entire a state is rather a rare occurrence; for though the prismatic colours are always visible during sunshine, floating in little fragments here and there, they only unite into a regular bow in particular positions of the sun, and

never complete the semicircular curve but when the air, as happened on this occasion, is perfectly calm. I was peculiarly fortunate in the period of this visit.

It is now not unusual to cross in a boat a short way below the falls, to the American shore, and there enjoy a considerable variety of prospect, but for this I had not time.[7]

A beautiful moonlight evening succeeded, and so favourable an opportunity of another view was not to be neglected. The moon was about the third quarter, the sky still without a cloud, but a gentle breeze had risen which carried the spray towards the tavern, and immediately on leaving the house I felt it descending like a very gentle rain. I did not venture at so late an hour to thread the mazes of the path to the Table Rock, but repaired to a sloping bank at the bottom of a field immediately above it. The moon's rays fell directly upon the American cascade, leaving the greater part of the other fall in deep shadow. The spray appeared to rise in greatly increased volumes, and the dim light mingling with its haze, and accompanied by a perceptible increase in the sound of the cateracts, imparted to the whole a peculiar sublimity which was wanting in day light.

[7] General Porter on the American side has succeeded in throwing a wooden bridge across from the main land to Goat Island, a short way above the falls. The success of this daring attempt has opened up many new points of view to the future traveller.

Various opinions prevail as to the most favourable situation for viewing the falls. Some prefer the road to Chippawa, some the Table Rock, some the rising bank above it, and some the bottom of the precipice. The view from the road to Chippawa is the one which a traveller from Buffalo first obtains; and after the mind has become familiar with the other aspects of the scenery, and can mentally associate what is hid with what is seen, perhaps the circumstance of its having been the first view, may induce him to think it the best. From the Table Rock the spectator has a more complete view of the great fall; commanding at the same time the whole of the furious rapid above,[8] from the first tumultuous roll of the waves, down through its foaming course, till it subsides at the middle of the curve into momentary smoothness, and then dashes below. Here also he has a more appalling impression of the terrors of the scene, for the look

[8] The following information is interesting and as I had no opportunity of acquiring it on the spot, I willingly quote it from the narrative of a succeeding traveller. "What has been said by Goldsmith, and repeated by others, respecting the destructive influence of the rapids above, to ducks and other waterfowl, is only an effect of the imagination. So far from being the case, the wild duck is often seen to swim down the rapids to the brink of the falls, and then fly out and repeat the descent, seeming to take delight in the exercise. Neither are small land birds affected, in flying over the falls, in the manner that has been stated. I observed the blue bird and the wren, which had already made their annual visit to the banks of the Niagara, frequently fly within one or two feet of the brink, apparently de-

from the edge of the rock down into the abyss, is certainly without a parallel. Altogether however he is too close upon the great fall, while the one on the American side seems but an episode to the other. From the rising bank above the Table Rock there is perhaps a better grouping of the various features of the landscape; but then you are elevated considerably above the most important objects, a situation which is fatal to powerful impression from objects either of nature or art. At the bottom of the precipice you more adequately appreciate the vastness of the foaming cataracts, their tremendous sound, the terror of the impending precipice, and the boiling of the mighty flood, but to these characteristics your view is confined.

The truth is that you must contemplate the scene from every point of view, before you can be acquainted with half its grandeur. Every succeeding look, and every shifting of your position, exhibit something which you did not observe before, and

lighted with the gift of their wings, which enabled them to sport over such frightful precipices without danger." *Schoolcraft's Travels to the sources of the Mississippi, p.* 38.

This writer is quite incorrect in saying that the Table Rock fell in 1818, subjoining in a note, 'The Table Rock was a favourite point of view for many years, and the day preceding the night on which it fell with tremendous noise, a number of visitors had stood with careless security upon it.' The mass which fell was several yards from the Table Rock, although the name was sometimes inaccurately extended to it; the 'favourite point of view' was left uninjured.

I believe that those who have visited the falls the oftenest, admire and wonder at them the most. I spent a great part of the following day upon the bank, traversing it backwards and forwards, alone; eager to exhaust every possible variety of prospect, and when I turned to take the last look, I felt a degree of regret which I believe was never excited in my breast by any analogous cause.

For the disappointment which is usually felt in gaining the first look of the falls, it is not difficult to account. We are accustomed to expect that the peculiar beauties of 'the mountain and the flood' should never be disconnected in the landscape, and are not prepared to find the falls of Niagara in the midst of a tract of country level to perfect deadness; a country where for miles around not a solitary hillock varies the surface, and nothing meets the eye but interminable forests of pine. The positions from which you must view the falls, and their vast semicircular width, detract most surprisingly from their apparent altitude. Add to all this, the unbridled scope in which imagination delights to riot, magnifying what is small and exaggerating what is great, and surely it will no longer be surprising that many, who take but a flying view of the wonders of Niagara, should depart utterly displeased that they are not still more wonderful.

The measurement of the falls has been variously stated, but the discrepancy in the more recent accounts is not very considerable. The

Horse Shoe or British fall may be stated at about 150 feet in height; its width can only be approximated, but following the curve it is generally estimated at about 2000 feet; the chord of the arc, from the end of Goat Island to the Table Rock, cannot much exceed a half of that extent. The Horse Shoe fall, however, has but a remote resemblance to that which gives it its name; it forms a small and irregular segment of a circle, with a very deep angular gash near the centre. In this gap the water glides over the edge of the rock with most crystalline smoothness, while at either extremity it breaks into snow-white foam at the very edge. The American fall is about 1100 feet in extreme width, including the comparatively small jet at the inner extremity. Its height is 165 feet; but though thus in reality exceeding by 15 feet the height of the British fall, it appears to the eye of an observer on this side considerably lower; partly from the effect of the perspective, but more particularly from an accumulation of rocks at the bottom, upon which the water breaks. The brow of Goat Island which divides the falls, is about 980 feet in breadth. The whole extent therefore of the concave, from the farther extremity of the American fall to the Table Rock, following the line of the cataracts, is according to this calculation very nearly 4000 feet, or about four times the breadth of the river half a mile below. You will more readily perhaps conceive of the features of

the falls by referring to the rude sketch which accompanies this description.

Most of the accounts of the falls which are contained in geographical works, mention that the sound of them is heard at a very great distance. This is comparatively seldom the case. I have been told in the neighbourhood that in particular states of the barometer, and especially before stormy weather, the sound of the cataracts is heard twenty miles off, or even farther; but on both occasions I could with difficulty distinguish it at a distance of two miles, and sometimes, I understand, it does not reach so far.

The falls of Niagara are among those phenomena in the external world, from which speculatists have spun a cobweb theory of the earth, proving or intended to prove

> "That he who made it, and revealed its date
> To Moses, was mistaken in its age."

There is every reason to believe from the aspect of the banks, and the character of the surrounding country above and below the falls, that the river has at some former period scooped out the channel, through the solid limestone, from Queenston, about seven miles below, to the position of the present cataracts. Below Queenston, the ground on both sides of the river is very nearly of the same level with the banks of lake Ontario, but at that town it rises with a sudden and steep slope

crossing the river at right angles to its channel, and continuing gradually to increase in elevation, till it attains to the height of lake Erie. At Queenston the inner surface of the banks first becomes precipitous and broken; and mineralogists of whose accuracy and fidelity there can be no doubt, have ascertained, by minute inspection, that the strata[9] on the opposite sides of the river correspond exactly with each other, and scarcely vary to the situation of the present falls. From these premises it has been concluded, that the waters of the Niagara formerly ran down the face of the heights of Queenston,—that the rocky material at last gave way under the continued attrition, and that the cataract gradually worked its way backward, till it separated into two at the present position. Not only so, but that this process has continued with the most unvarying regularity, accomplishing very nearly the same number of inches in the same space of time. This backward motion however, if any such there be, is at present amazingly slow, and it is therefore decided, with unhesitating certainty and coolness, that the world must have existed, and the waters of the

[9] Limestone above, and sandstone below, with forty feet interposing of exceedingly friable slate. *North Am. Rev. No. XXXVI.* p. 230. In this article the reviewer combats the idea of the gradual retrocession of the falls, but does not allude to the objections which had thence been started to the truth of the Mosaic account of creation.

Niagara have been at work, for a much larger period than six thousand years.

With the same facility of hypothesis and assertion, they have decided upon its future as easily as upon its past operations. It is inevitably certain, we are assured, that it will gradually saw its way twenty miles farther and drain lake Erie, and going backward three hundred miles, take up its temporary residence below Detroit. It is needless for us at present to pursue it any farther.

But if we grant, that there was a time when the water from lake Erie first made a breach in Queenston heights, these theorists cannot refuse, that there must have been a previous time when no breach as yet existed. If so, where then was the outlet of lake Erie? By what channel did the waters of the great chain of western lakes, above Ontario, find a passage to the ocean? If these lakes did not then exist, and if they and their outlet were the simultaneous result of some mighty terraqueous convulsion, may it not be as reasonably concluded that the whole channel of the Niagara, from the present falls to Queenston, was ploughed out by the same revolutionizing struggle? —and that in place of being the operation of thousands of years, it may have been the work of a month or perhaps of a day? Upon this supposition it is not difficult to account for the present position of the falls; below them the channel is comparatively narrow and confined, and the current must

have raged, as indeed it still does, with much more fury and effect than where it is less pent up. At the falls it is divided by an island into two arms, each wider than the channel below; and farther up it is diffused over a still more ample surface, peacefully winding round islands of various sizes, or smoothly expanding into a kind of bay. Within the semicircular outline also of the present falls, a kind of basin is embraced, in which the water foams and whirls in great agitation, but in which it has space to subside into smoothness before breaking on the bank; and it is comparatively tranquil at a short distance below.

In a word, the assertions which have been made respecting the gradual retrocession of the falls, seem to be altogether gratuitous. It is possible that some partial change may take place in the outline of the great fall; some piece of rock may give way, as was the case in the bank below, but there seems not the slightest reason to believe, either that the change has hitherto been incessant and gradual, or that it will hereafter be so. The earliest accounts which were given of them by European writers are obviously and grossly fabulous, describing them as seven or eight hundred feet high, and a mile and a half broad; but the first which were at all authentic correspond remarkably, at the distance of a century, with the present aspect of the cataracts. Goat Island is correctly delineated according to its present condition; for to

this day, as then, it exactly coincides with the edge of the precipice over which the water on each side descends. Weld indeed, who visited the falls in 1796, speaks in decided terms of a change in the features of the Horse Shoe fall, but apart from the consideration that this writer is somewhat addicted to the marvellous,[10] his account is not consistent with itself. He says, that "within the memory of many of the present inhabitants of the country, the falls have receded *several yards*," and "tradition tells us that the Great Fall instead of having been in the form of a horse shoe, once projected in the middle." Among whom this tradition prevails he does not mention, but immediately adds —"for a century past however it has remained nearly in the present form." That the falls had receded several yards, in the recollection of those who were then alive, is sufficiently disproved by the consideration, that if so, Goat Island must have projected so many yards below them, while in point of fact it does not to this day project a single foot; and how their receding several yards in one

[10] For instance we are told (*Vol. II. p.* 243.) that he "saw a young Shawnese chief, apparently not more than ten years old, fix three arrows running in the body of a small black squirrel, on the top of a very tall tree." How 'the small black squirrel' after having been transfixed by one arrow, could retain its position till other two went through it, completely exceeds my comprehension. His story of the mosquito which bit through General Washington's boot, has been often quoted and laughed at, but this other is quite as credible.

generation, can be reconciled with the concession that the Great Fall has preserved its present form for nearly a century, would puzzle a geologist to tell. The fact is, there is nothing known of the falls beyond the specified century, and those who are disposed to invent marvellous stories respecting their youthful days, are completely unfettered either by historical or traditional record.

Travelling from the falls to Queenston, I passed, without recollecting it, a remarkable whirlpool in the river, which has called forth the astonishment of several travellers. It is said to arise from a large excavation in the bank on the British side, into which the current whirls with prodigious violence, depositing trunks of trees and the carcasses of animals which have been swept down the falls. As I did not see it I cannot be more minute in my description, without transcribing from authors who are accessible to every one.

At Queenston the navigation of the river is resumed, and a canal has long been talked of, to save the land carriage, which is at present necessary between this and Chippawa. Probably as the country increases in population, and its inhabitants in capital and enterprize, this may be accomplished, but in its present condition the idea is hopeless.

At Queenston the battle was fought in which General Brock fell, and the inhabitants point out a thorn bush at the bottom of the heights, where

it is said that he received his mortal wound. His career was a short but a brilliant one, and had the direction of the affairs of the Upper province, after his death, been characterized by an equal degree of courage, prudence, and humanity, a very different series of subsequent events would have claimed the attention of the historian.

I passed only an hour in Queenston, after which I crossed to Lewiston the village on the American side. It was Saturday afternoon, and I wished to spend the following day at a neighbouring village of the Tuscarora Indians, where a missionary from a society in New York has been employed for some time. An account of this visit shall be the subject of next letter.

LETTER XIV.

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LEWISTON—VISIT TO THE TUSCARORA VILLAGE—APPEARANCE OF THE INDIANS—CHURCH—SERMON—INDIAN'S PRAYER—MISSIONARY'S HOUSE—INDIAN GUESTS—INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE TRIBE—ANECDOTES—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES—THEIR PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS—ANCIENT REMAINS IN OHIO—INDIAN LANGUAGES—RELIGION.

Niagara, October, 1818.

I CROSSED from Queenston to Lewiston on a very beautiful afternoon shortly before sunset. The current of this river is here very powerful, and although the ferryman, a stout fellow from Ireland, pulled with all his strength against the stream, the boat fell considerably down before we reached the opposite shore.

Lewiston enjoys several local advantages, as a point of communication with Canada. It stands at the commencement of the lower navigation of the Niagara; and at the end of the ridge road, which extends in a pretty direct line from the neighbourhood of Canandaigua. This road, as its name imports, traverses an elevated line of rock, and of course is exempt from all the horrors of swamps

and log causeways. Lewiston shared deeply in the eventful vicissitudes of last war. It was the head-quarters of the army which crossed to attack General Brock, when that gallant officer fell; towards the latter part of the war it was like Buffalo burned to the ground. Its present appearance does not betoken much wealth in its inhabitants; but the whole of this district, both on the American and British side of the river, exhibits symptoms of considerable exhaustion.

After breakfast on Sabbath morning I set out in a small waggon for the Tuscarora village; I had previously ascertained that the Indians did not meet for worship till noon. The village is about four miles from Lewiston, on the south of the ridge road; the log huts are scattered at some little distance from each other, on the brow of the slope which forms the continuation of the heights of Queenston.

Leaving the waggon at a small inn by the road side, I entered the first Indian hut and enquired for the church. An old Indian to whom I addressed myself understood my question, but he was able to speak but little English, and his answer was made intelligible more by gestures than by words. Following the path to which he pointed me, I reached after traversing two or three fields a log hut of larger dimensions than the rest, which I could perceive to be the church from a few Indians and others who were beginning to assemble

about it; the female Indians were all going in, but the men waited outside for the minister's arrival.

Seating myself on the trunk of a tree, between a fine looking old Indian and a white man, I looked round with feelings of lively interest on the unwonted scene. Deep forests bounded the prospect in every direction, but for a considerable space around, the axe had been busy, and log huts and rail fences marked the habitations and improvements of man. Fields ripe for harvest, and others already stripped, showed that the red children of the forest had at least to a certain degree abandoned the chase, for the less precarious support of agriculture. There were no reapers however in the fields; the peacefulness of the day of christian rest was not violated in the Indian village, and before me was an humble log hut appropriated to the worship of the christian's God, and to the instruction of the despised aborigines of America. "The sound of the church-going bell" was indeed wanting; but an old Indian at the porch was winding a long blast upon a horn, and as its echoes rung through the woods Indians and white men, old and young, assembled at the summons.

There was an obvious difference between the appearance of these Indians, and that of the Oneydas and Senecas whom I had previously seen. The scattered remnants of the ancient proprietors of the soil, which are met with here and

there in the settlements of the whites, are generally in a state of miserable degradation, and afford no means whatever of correctly appreciating the true Indian character. We might as well estimate Englishmen by the inmates of a bridewell or a convict ship. Idleness and dissipation have ruined all that was noble in this wonderful people. Squalid and dispirited you see them wandering about wrapped in the remains of a dirty blanket, miserable dependants on the bounty of those who have stripped them of their hunting grounds, and almost extirpated their race. "Their spirits are debased by conscious inferiority, and their native courage completely daunted by the superior knowledge and power of their enlightened neighbours. Society has advanced upon them like a many-headed monster, breathing every variety of misery. Before it went forth pestilence, famine and the sword; and in its train came the slow but exterminating curse of trade. What the former did not sweep away, the latter has gradually blighted. It has increased their wants, without increasing the means of gratification. It has enervated their strength, multiplied their diseases, blasted the powers of their mind, and superinduced on their original barbarity the low vices of civilization. Poverty, repining and hopeless poverty—a canker of the mind unknown to sylvan life—corrodes their very hearts. They loiter like vagrants through the settlements, among spacious habitations replete

with artificial comforts, which only render them sensible of the comparative wretchedness of their own condition. Luxury spreads its ample board before their eyes, but they are expelled from the banquet. The forest, which once furnished them with ample means of subsistence, has been levelled to the ground—waving fields of grain have sprung up in its place, but they have no participation in the harvest; plenty revels around them, but they are starving amidst its stores; the whole wilderness blossoms like a garden, but they feel like the reptiles which infest it."[1]

The Tuscaroras, however, who were gathering around me, presented a remarkable and cheering contrast. They were all decently, some of them even showily dressed, and in almost all of them might be recognized marks of the enjoyment of personal and social comfort. There was indeed in every red countenance a dash of seriousness—perhaps of gloom—which seemed to say, "Indians are not what they once were;" yet it seemed rather the gloom of resignation than that of despair, and we might suppose them mentally to add, "but we are not without hopes of better things."

Indians are still remarkable for their tacitur-

[1] An extract from a paper, by Mr. Washington Irving, in the American Analectic Magazine for February 1815, in which the author warmly pleads the cause of the poor Indians. He has subsequently altered it considerably, and published it in the British edition of the Sketch Book; it may interest some readers to remark the sedulous care with which Mr. Irving elaborates his compositions.

nity, and little conversation took place among those who were assembling. About twelve o'clock Mr. and Mrs. Crane, the missionary and his wife, arrived, and all followed them into the church. The building serves the double purpose of a church on Sabbath, and a school-house during the week.

A small desk at the upper end was Mr. Crane's pulpit; benches ranged around served for pews to the congregation, and on the walls were hung the large alphabets and spelling lessons which are used in Lancasterian schools. The aspect of the congregation was to me novel and interesting. The Indians wore dresses of broad cloth, of various colours; the men a kind of frock coat and leggings; the women a large mantle, red, blue, or green, with leggings and moccassins fancifully embroidered; some of them had a profusion of silver ornaments on various parts of their dress. The whole preserved the most decorous silence and solemnity; the women sitting enveloped in their mantle, with its folds brought up with the left hand across the mouth, so that only the upper part of the countenance was visible.

The service was begun by a hymn which the ndians sung in their own language, and in a very pleasing style, to one of our ordinary church tunes. Most of them had music books open before them. Of the sentiment and spirit which were embodied in their melody, I could of course form no judgment, but from what I afterwards learned, I doubt

not that it was with some of them the acceptable worship of a renewed and grateful heart.

At the conclusion of the hymn, Mr. Crane gave a short and familiar address on the nature and importance of the gospel. He has not yet been long enough among them to acquire their language, but for the present is obliged to communicate through an interpreter. An old Indian, whose name as I afterwards learned was Kusick, placed himself by the side of Mr. Crane's desk, and interpreted the address to his brethren, sentence by sentence.

Another hymn by the Indian auditory succeeded, after which Mr. Crane offered up a fervent prayer for the presence and blessing of God. He then read out his text from the Epistle to the Galatians, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain;" and proceeded to address his red audience upon the importance of improving by the great advantages which they enjoyed. A brief outline of what I afterwards wrote down of the discourse, may not be uninteresting.[2]

"The Great Spirit," said Mr. Crane, "has been particularly kind to this nation; he has bestowed upon you privileges and blessings, which very few of the Indian nations enjoy. He has sent

[2] Shortly after the author's return from America he published a familiar, but rather more detailed account, of the events of this day, in the form of a premium book for Sabbath schools; it is entitled "A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians," and may be referred to for some additional information respecting them.

you that greatest of all blessings, his Holy Word, to instruct you in a knowledge of yourselves, his dependent creatures; to tell you that you are sinners, but to show you also how your sins may be forgiven; to make known to you how you may enjoy God's favour in this world, and everlasting life and happiness in the world to come."

Mr. Crane then proclaimed the prominent and all important truth of the glorious gospel, and urged its reception by many arguments, addressed to the consciences of his hearers. He then reverted to the phraseology of his text, and stated that he felt himself compelled to adopt it, as applicable to many of those to whom he had for a long time been accustomed to preach. Of many of them he much feared, that, as regards the ultimate end of preaching, he had hitherto entirely failed; his labour had been bestowed in vain—they were still callous and indifferent—not convinced of their sins—not convinced of their need of a Saviour—anxiously engaged in the pursuit of present enjoyment, but utterly unconcerned about judgment and eternity.

He then vindicated the authority of the Bible, as a message from the Most High God; arguing that none but He could have devised or executed a plan of salvation, so admirably suited to our situation, and displaying so intimate a knowledge of the deceitful heart, and ruined state of man. He asserted the mighty power of the gospel, in promoting good

conduct and happiness among all who believed it. He compared the condition of the Tuscarora nation, with that of the other Indian nations which were around them; he compared their present condition with that in which they had formerly lived, before the gospel was preached among them; he compared the conduct of those who had embraced the gospel, with that in which they had indulged before they felt its power; and he pressed it home upon them as an unquestionable fact, that the effect of true religion was to promote individual and universal happiness.

He then warned them of the awful danger of trifling with the communications of the Great Spirit, of resisting and neglecting the word of God; declaring that sooner or later, irremediable destruction would be the portion of all who hardened their hearts in unbelief.

"Oh then," said Mr. Crane in conclusion, "let not this labour be bestowed on you in vain! Believe the truths which are declared to you; listen to the proclamation of mercy which is published to you; obey the counsel which is given to you, and thus your souls shall live. Recollect also, that if you reject the offers of mercy which the Great Spirit has made, he will inflict more dreadful punishments upon you, than upon those who never heard his name proclaimed. If the labour has been "bestowed upon you in vain," then your guilt is much greater than it was before. You had

not then heard of the goodness and mercy of the Great Spirit,—you had not then heard that he was willing to be your Father; but now you have heard this, and if you do not become his children, it is because you will not. Why will you then trifle with your eternal interests?—and why must I still say of so many, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain?"

During Mr. Crane's discourse, the interpreter, old Kusick, continued by his side, and at the conclusion of every sentence rendered it into the Tuscarora language. A preacher could scarcely desire a more attentive audience. To myself the scene was most interesting. There was something peculiarly solemn in the process, by which important truths were communicated to men of another race, from the lips of a person who was unacquainted with their language. To reflect also, that those who were sitting to receive instruction were the poor Indians of America, the descendants of those who had been hunted from mountain to forest by Europeans of other days; and who perhaps, goaded to madness and despair, had when opportunity served turned upon their destroyers, and with the tomohawk and scalping knife exacted a fearful retribution for the wrongs which had been heaped upon them;—to see the white and the red man, sitting together like brothers, "taking sweet counsel" from the same heavenly volume, and cheering each other's hearts with the hopes of futurity and bliss—

was all calculated to give an intensity of interest to the very peculiar scene.

I have mentioned that Mr. Crane prayed in English before the sermon; at its conclusion he desired the interpreter Kusick to call on one of the Indians, named William, to pray. The whole congregation immediately rose from their seats, and William, lifting up his hands, poured out in his native tongue a fervent prayer to God. Thus are the triumphs of the cross extending, and thus are the distinctions of lineage and colour falling before the influence of that gospel, which declares that "in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Gentile, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free!"

"Oh scenes surpassing fable, and yet true!—

* * * * *

One song employs all nations, and all sing
'Worthy the Lamb! for he was slain for us!'
The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other. And the mountain tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy;
Till nation after nation taught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round!"

But it may perhaps be suspected, that William had previously committed a form of prayer to memory, and was only reciting it as a school-boy does his task. To hear and to see him, were more than sufficient to set this suspicion aside. He commenced in a serious, composed manner, as one who is impressed with the solemnity of addressing the

God of heaven and earth. He became more animated as he went on. His animation gradually increased to fervour—and his fervour to emotion—and his emotion became stronger, and stronger, till at last it overpowered him, and for a moment he was silent. Struggling to repress his feelings, he endeavoured to proceed. A sentence or two more, and he could restrain himself no longer, his breast heaved—his whole frame was agitated—he sobbed aloud—and the big tears rolled down his dark coloured cheeks.

Nor were William's the only tears that flowed. Many of the Indians were equally affected, and most of the whites, though ignorant of the language of the prayer, felt the touch of sympathy at their breast;—who indeed, who was not cold as statuary, could have resisted it? If prayer be the offering up of the heart's desires unto God, surely this was a prayer. I cannot indeed offer you any abstract of its petitions, but I think we cannot far err in supposing, that these unwonted tears which this 'Stoic of the woods' poured forth, were wrung from him in powerful intercession for the men of his nation, that none of them might remain insensible to the voice which spoke to them from God. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much," and surely this was a fervent prayer.

When William concluded, another Indian arose and voluntarily addressed the meeting. He was dressed in a style somewhat superior to most of

them, and wore at his breast a large silver medal, bearing the bust of Washington. I learned afterwards that he was a chief, named Longboard. Longboard folded his arms as he rose, and addressed us in a speech of about ten minutes. It was evident that he did not speak under the influence of any peculiar emotion, for his drawling accents presented a striking contrast to the impassioned prayer of William.

I was subsequently informed that Longboard's address, though professedly in favour of Mr. Crane and the instructions which he gave, was secretly intended to prop his own authority; that when a fitting opportunity offered, it might be exerted in an opposite way.[3] He was formerly a chief of considerable influence in the nation, and his inclinations were strongly opposed to the introduction of christianity, but finding that it was obviously gaining ground, he for a time trimmed to the current; he often said that it was altogether in consequence of his addresses, that any improvement had taken place in the character and conduct of the Indians.

[3] Longboard was not slandered in the character which was given of him. He and some others have since made a vigorous effort to emancipate the nation from the new doctrines, and to expel Mr. Crane and the teacher of the school. The result has been as every good man would wish. The pagan chief and his adherents found it necessary to retire into Upper Canada, leaving the christian Indians, and all who favoured them, in undisturbed possession of the village. The contest occasioned considerable confusion for a time, but it has been succeeded by peace and harmony. (1822.)

At the conclusion of Longboard's address, the Indians united in singing another hymn; after which Mr. Crane pronounced the usual benediction, and the congregation separated.

What I had seen and heard among the Tuscaroras only excited a desire to know more, and although a stranger to Mr. Crane, I thought that in such circumstances the want of a letter of introduction was but a trifling difficulty; I stepped up to him therefore as he left the church, and mentioning my name, and the occasion of my visit, said that I should be happy to have an opportunity of acquiring some farther information. Mr. Crane shook hands with me with the utmost cordiality, and introducing me to Mrs. Crane invited me to accompany them home. This invitation I very willingly accepted; not the less so, that some of the Indians, among whom were William and his wife Nancy, were to accompany us.

On reaching Mr. Crane's house, dinner was set before us; but as is usual here in many places on the Sabbath, it was both dinner and tea combined into a single meal. William, by his pastor's desire, asked the blessing in his native tongue, for the benefit of his red brethren, and Mr. Crane on behalf of the whites returned thanks in English. The Indians behaved at table with as much propriety as any others present. Some of them could speak a little English, but they were shy of doing it before a stranger; and the conversation was left

chiefly to Mr. Crane and myself. Mr. Crane, in introducing me to the Indians, told them that I had come across the great waters, from the country where the good people lived, who in former times had sent out Brainerd to preach among the Oneydas.

Mr. Crane has been but little more than a year among the Tuscaroras, and is of course as yet but imperfectly acquainted with their language;[4] he has however had very considerable encouragement in his labours, and feels his situation more comfortable than he had reason to anticipate. The Indians evince a great degree of regard for him and Mrs. Crane, and show them every little kindness in their power. Another missionary had been stationed here for several years, previous to the late war; but the burning of the village which then took place scattered all the inhabitants, and put a period to his labours. Mr. Crane's congregation consists at present of thirteen regular members, six men and seven women; but in addition to these a great many are very regular in their attendance at public worship, and are to all appearance favourably affected to christianity. William has been a professor of religion for seven years, his wife Nancy for some months,

[4] A gentleman, who has recently visited this interesting village, informs me that Mr. Crane has now acquired so considerable a knowledge of the language, that he intends soon to commence preaching in it; the settlement prospers under his care. (1822.)

and their conduct in private life is every way consistent with their public profession. Mr. and Mrs. Crane took tea a short time ago in William's house; the children [5] were, as on all former occasions, perfectly obedient and respectful in their behaviour; they waited in patience, for their tea, till the older people had finished, and then went one by one to their mother and thanked her for what she had given them.

Mr. Crane assured me, that a material improvement has taken place in the condition of the Tuscaroras, since the introduction of christianity among them. They were, a few years ago, in a state of as great debasement as any of the nations around them; but now out of their whole number, which amounts including women and children to about three hundred, not more than ten ever indulge to excess in spirituous liquors. Even these do it but seldom; and for some time after each transgression they keep as much as possible out of sight, till they think it has been forgotten.

Agriculture is considerably attended to among them; and in addition to Indian corn, they have begun to cultivate wheat, which requires much more attention, but is a more valuable crop and less affected by the vicissitudes of the weather. They are honest in their transactions with each other,

[5] The religious magazines have recently announced the death of William's eldest daughter, a girl of seventeen. She is said to have died enjoying the hope and consolations of the gospel. (1822.)

and with the whites around them, and industrious in providing for the support of their families. The benefits of christianity, therefore, have not been confined to those who have publicly professed it; a standard of honesty and morality has been introduced among them; propriety of conduct has been countenanced, and vice discouraged; and as a community they are happy and comfortable beyond what they ever were before.

Kusick the interpreter, one of their chiefs, is a decided christian. Some of the other chiefs are still unbelievers, but even they have been compelled to bear testimony to the beneficial change which has been produced on the nation. One of these had lately visited the Indian village near Buffalo, where part of the remains of the Five Nations[6] are collected,—once a powerful confeder-

[6] The Five Nations were the Mohawks, Oneydas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas. The Tuscaroras appear to have afterwards become a party to the league. At the village referred to, the Senecas are the most numerous, and it is in consequence generally called the Seneca village. The introduction of christianity among them has been frequently attempted, but Red-Jacket, a chief of great influence, has hitherto successfully resisted it. The village is noted for idleness and dissipation. Passing through Buffalo I saw several Senecas begging in the streets; and on the Sabbath morning, before I left Lewiston for the Tuscarora village, two of them came to the door of the tavern at which I lodged wanting rum. I asked them to what nation they belonged, afraid that they might be Tuscaroras; they answered "Senecas." I told them rum was very bad for them. "No," said one of them laughing, "good, very good." They went away however without obtaining it. By a New York newspaper which has lately reached me, I observe, that in the spring of 1819, a

acy, possessing unlimited sway along the banks of lake Erie and lake Ontario, the Mohawk and the Hudson,—now a broken and spiritless remnant. The Tuscarora chief, on returning home, confessed to Mr. Crane that he was astonished at the difference between the people of the two villages; the one sober, industrious, and happy—the other idle, drunken, and miserable. The change at home had been so gradual, that he had scarcely marked its progress, or thought of its cause.

Mr. Crane has been several times applied to by tradesmen in the neighbourhood, who had allowed some of the Indians to get into their debt, but he said that he never interfered unless the individual complained of was a member of the church. One

new Council Fire solemnly decided against the introduction of christianity. The editor adds, "this remnant of the Five Nations will not exist much longer; none ever decreased with so much rapidity."

It was from this village that the men were brought, who appeared in 1818 and 1819 in most of the British theatres, exhibiting their war-dances. I have learned since the above note was written, that some benevolent individuals in England gave each of them Bibles, before their return to their native country, and attempted to communicate to them some religious instruction. This has not been without its effect; for a meeting for social worship every Sabbath has since been established in the Seneca village, under the care of an American teacher who is settled there, and either two or three of the Indians who visited Britain are regular in their attendance. A letter of thanks, dictated by them, to their benefactors in England, has appeared in some of the religious periodical publications. (1822.)

of the Indians had ordered a waggon from a carpenter in Lewiston, at a stipulated price; but before it was delivered, a New England merchant had come to the village who offered to sell him one for a smaller sum, and got him persuaded to purchase it. The carpenter soon after informed him that the waggon was ready, and that he wished payment of it. The Indian said that he had been provided at a lower price, and did not now want it. On Mr. Crane's being applied to, he tried to explain to the Indian the nature of a bargain, and its obligation upon both parties. The Indian admitted the engagement, but thought that his having obtained a waggon cheaper, proved that the carpenter had tried to overreach him, and was therefore not entitled, according to the principles of Indian jurisprudence, to insist on his taking the waggon. All that Mr. Crane said, failed in convincing the Indian of the carpenter's right to force the waggon upon him, but being perfectly persuaded that Mr. Crane would not wrong one of his red brethren, and that he knew best what was consistent with the laws of white men, he took the waggon, for which he had no use, and paid the stipulated price, forty dollars.

This conduct will appear the more honourable in the Indian when it is understood, that a white man has no recourse at law against an Indian for debt, although an Indian may prosecute a white. A wise and most humane regulation.

In the course of the afternoon, Kusick the inter-

preter entered the room, accompanied by one of the shabbiest and dirtiest of the Tuscaroras that I had yet seen. Kusick and I were introduced to each other, while the poor looking fellow seated himself at the back of the door, and placing his hands on his knees hung his head in silence. Mr. Crane informed me that he was one of the few topers who were still to be found in the tribe, and that the occasion of his present visit was to ask pardon for a piece of rudeness, of which he had been guilty when last intoxicated. He had gone to Lewiston on a sabbath morning, and continued drinking during the whole of the day. Staggering home next forenoon, he met Mr. and Mrs. Crane in a one horse waggon, and, whether in kindness or mischief they could not tell, Thomas, for so he was called, caught hold of the bridle, and turned the horse so suddenly round that the waggon was upset. Happily both the inmates escaped without injury. Thomas went home, too much intoxicated to recollect what he had done; but some of the chiefs heard of it, and when he was sober told him that it was necessary he should go to Mr. and Mrs. Crane and ask pardon for his misconduct.

Kusick was again the medium of communication. Thomas in very humble terms expressed much regret for what he had done; he said he was not his own master when he did it, for he loved Mr. and Mrs. Crane sincerely, and would not on any account intentionally injure them. He concluded by beg-

ging to be forgiven, and promised that he would never so offend again.

Mr. Crane assured Thomas, that neither Mrs. Crane nor he felt the slightest degree of resentment for his upsetting the waggon, as they were convinced that he had no intention of doing so; but said that he could not but be displeased with him for indulging in spirituous liquors, after having been so frequently warned of their pernicious effects. He reminded him that the hair on his head was gray, and that in a few short years, at most, he must appear before the Great Spirit, who had said that drunkards should not enter into the kingdom of heaven. He counselled him to abstain for the future from wicked associates, and to listen to the instruction which the word of God contained.

Thomas received the admonition with silent attention, and promised to abstain henceforth from rum and bad company. Mr. Crane assured him of his forgiveness, and poor Thomas was received again into favour,

Kusick the interpreter I found to be a shrewd and intelligent man. He had fought in the revolutionary war, with a lieutenant's commission from the United States; and a lame knee, the consequence of ague and excessive fatigue, bore testimony to the hardships which he had undergone. He showed me a copy of the gospel by John in the Mohawk language, translated by Captain Brandt, a chief whom Campbell has consigned to no honourable

fame in his Gertrude of Wyoming. While his evil deeds are so lastingly recorded, let not his more deserving ones be passed over in silence.[7] Kusick was also possessed of a copy of the gospel by Luke, translated into the same language by Captain Norton, an Indian chief who is living in upper Canada. The Mohawk language he told me though different from the Tuscarora, was so far allied to it that they could without much difficulty make use of these translations, which were indeed all that they possessed.

Evening was now advancing, and I was under the necessity of taking leave. Mr. and Mrs. Crane strongly urged me to remain with them till the following day, but this I could not with propriety do. I shook hands with my kind entertainers, with William and Nancy, Kusick and the other Indians, including poor Thomas, and with feelings of a very peculiar kind, I left Mr. Crane's house to see this interesting group no more. Many kind invitations were showered upon me, by white and red, to repeat my visit, but in all probability we shall never meet again in this world. My acquaintance with them has been that of a day, but years will not efface its traces from my memory; and often as I remember the Tuscarora Indians, it will be with warmest wishes for their happiness, and that of all who take an interest in them.

[7] I am, after all, not certain whether this translation is the work of the elder Brandt, who is now dead, or of his son who is still living.

What I have seen and heard among the Tuscarora Indians, confirms to the utmost what I have long believed; that it is folly and worse than folly, to talk of the impossibility of civilizing the North American aborigines. It is a matter of shame to intelligent men, that such assertions should ever have been made. That it may be difficult to carry it into full effect I readily grant, but the principal obstacles which exist, have arisen from the unprincipled conduct of the white traders; many of whom, if morality were the standard of our determination, are much better entitled to the appellation of *savages* than the poor despised Indians.

Since the period when Europeans first set foot in the western continent, their conduct towards the Indians has been with few exceptions, for there have been a few,[8] a combination of deceit, rapacity, and cruelty, too atrocious to be characterized by any ordinary epithet of aggravation. They found a few thousands of naked men in peaceful possession of

[8] Penn's conduct towards the Indians was as remarkable for kindness, honour, and good faith, as that of others had been the reverse; Brother *Miquon*, as they translated Penn, and his friendly *quækels*, were long spoken of by the remains of the Delawares, in terms of enthusiastic regard. When war between the Indians and whites was raging in Pennsylvania, the quaker habit was a protection in every Indian camp, and the unarmed wearer experienced a friendly welcome in every wigwam. The history of this settlement, and some others, completely proves that the Indians were not insensible to kindness on the part of the whites; but on the contrary, that whenever they were honourably treated they made as honourable a return.

immense tracts of fertile ground, watered by vast lakes and navigable rivers; they cast their covetous eyes upon the immense continent, and at last, by fraud and intrigue, succeeded in acquiring possession of nearly the whole, and in almost entirely extirpating the race by which it had been peopled.

It would be a long and a heart rending tale, to recount the various circumstances under which this has been accomplished; but features of general resemblance pervade them all. The white men were strong—the red men were weak; the white men were crafty and designing—the red men open and unsuspicious; the white men wanted the land—the red men were obliged to let them have it. Rum, powder, and the bayonet, were the efficient agents in completing the change. The Indians were instigated to mutual havoc and massacre, and the whites completed what they began. The dispirited remnants of the scattered tribes became the slaves of drunkenness and sloth; and the land which was yet left them, they were easily persuaded to exchange for intoxicating liquors, or whatever else their spoilers chose to give. "Finally," said the Indian chief, "they drove us back from time to time into the wilderness, far from the water, and the fish, and the oysters. They have destroyed the game; our people have wasted away; and now we live miserable and wretched, while they are enjoying our fine and beautiful country."

After Europeans had thus plundered them of their territory—debased, and almost exterminated their race—to fill up the measure of their cruelty, they slandered their character with every possible misrepresentation, till the Indians of North America are regarded, by most European nations, as the very abstraction and condensation of all that is hateful in human nature;—men whom it is perfectly impossible to reclaim from barbarism, and who may therefore be consigned to destruction, without the slighest injustice, and without any cause for remorse, completely blotted from the catalogue of living creatures.[9]

[9] I regret most sincerely to observe, that an American journal of the first respectability, has adopted and defended this most revolting, I must add, most audacious doctrine; respect for the general character of the publication prompts me to suppress its title. In an article contained in the number for July 1820, after rapidly glancing at the past and present condition of the Indians, and after discussing the question as to the right of Europeans to dispossess them of their land, the writer boldly advances as corollaries to his reasonings, that the Indians cannot be civilized, and that it is folly to attempt it. "It is tolerably well ascertained," says he, "that they cannot support the neighbourhood of civilization. Foreign and ignorant judges may sneer at this, but it is a simple fact ascertained by experience. To take measures to preserve the Indians, is to take measures to preserve so much barbarity, helplessness, and want, to the exclusion of so much industry and thriftiness.——The object of true humanity is, not blindly to better the condition of a given individual, whether he will be bettered or not, but to put a happier individual in the place of a less happy one. If it can be done by changing the nature of the latter, it is well; if it cannot, leave him to the operation of his character and habits; do not resist the order of providence which is carrying him away, and when he

One of the principal arguments, if such it can be called, by which some have sought to prove their incapacity for civilization, is the circumstance of their having so rapidly melted away before the encroachments of the whites, and having so seldom become incorporated with their invaders. But any other result, must have been almost miraculous. Let it be recollected that the whites, not contented with destroying themselves as many as they could, took every opportunity of artfully instigating war between one tribe and another; and that on every occasion on which the various European settlers themselves fell out and fought,

is gone, a civilized man will step into his place and your end is attained."

Although *foreign* judges are here set aside as necessarily *ignorant* ones, the intervention of the Atlantic does not prevent the same journal from often writing, and that with great justice and good sense, on European affairs. I cannot see why we may not, with equal justice, express our opinion on matters which concern the western continent. To endeavour to reclaim the Indians from drunkenness and vice, may be by some esteemed 'opposition to the order of providence;'—would that there were more men so to oppose it! Be it more and more the distinction of christians, that they unite heart and hand to remove ignorance and oppose vice, wherever they are found and under whatever shape;—that they visit the despised heathens of every country with the Bible in their hands and words of brotherly kindness on their lips, and that they earnestly strive to raise them, from a condition worse than that of the brutes, to 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Why is a poor Indian thought incapable of that mental renovation, which has been experienced by Hindoos, Tahiteans, Greenlanders, and Hottentots? —what is there in his blood or in his brain, that he is thus branded with proscription, and consigned unpitied, to degradation here, and

each party collected to its aid multitudes of Indian warriors, to be food for the weapons of their destructive warfare. In the contests between the French and British colonists, in the revolutionary war, and in the recent unhappy renewal of hostilities, the Indians were, without reason or pity, involved in contests in which they were no way interested, and crushed between the two contending powers, like grain between the millstones. Rancorous hatred to the whites and to each other, has been promoted in every possible way; spirituous liquors copiously administered for the basest of purposes; immorality of every kind eagerly promoted, loath-

destruction hereafter? Where were the progenitors of this enlightened writer when Cæsar landed on the shores of England? What redeeming peculiarity was found in their painted skins, which marked the race capable of such ultimate illumination? Alas for the poor Indians!—left to Jackson in time of war, to backwoodsmen and fur-traders in time of peace, and to cold blooded philosophers for their future prospects! "No personal injustice should be tolerated," says this writer, "but do not resist the order of providence which is carrying him away!"

"Ah what is man! And what man *reading* this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head to think himself a man!"

The following affecting little sketch, which the same writer almost immediately subjoins, is characterized by the same lamentable unfeelingness; but may be regarded as an enemy's testimony, to the harmlessness and honesty of these poor persecuted outcasts.

"A small party of Indians was lately, and is perhaps now, wandering in our neighbourhood. One might easily have mistaken them for gypsies, but for the shade of copper colour, instead of the

some and hitherto unknown diseases propagated; instruction of every kind withheld from them; and yet in the face of all this, we are called upon to hold up our hands like simpletons, and wonder that the Indians have disappeared![10]

Let the system be reversed, and reason and experience coincide, in encouraging us to hope for a different result. It is indeed but little that we can do, to atone to the survivors for the injuries

dark olive, in their complexions. Their party of six or eight consisted of three generations, of whom the two first retained a little acquaintance with their native Indian dialect, which in the third was lost. They did not appear to share the quality which is said to sit deep in gypsy blood, that of mistaking their neighbour's hen roost for their own. Whether they would have been able to hold fast their integrity, through the tempting season of June—eating, and early Catharine pears, we cannot undertake to say. While they honoured us with their presence, they led a mighty honest life of basket weaving; and it was no unpleasant sight in the evening, to see the red flames and the heavy smoke curling up round a comfortable iron pot, which they understood how to keep boiling as well as their neighbours. Neither can they be said to have been devoid of taste; for they took up their abode on about the pleasantest spot which the district contains, and added by their romantic encampment a new beauty to Jamaica Pond; of a kind we suppose not wholly to the taste of the neighbouring municipality, who soon approved their descent from the pilgrims, and after a lapse of two or three weeks, drove out these heathens without further ceremony."

[10] I should have been glad could I have alluded to these enormities only as 'a tale of other times,' but the conduct of some of the American officers in the recent contests with the Creeks and the Seminoles was to the last degree inhuman. Their official despatches avow, that villages were surrounded at midnight, and the

which their race has suffered at our hands, but let us at least try to do what we can. Let us do for all the surviving nations, what has been begun to be done for the Tuscaroras. They are groping in darkness—let us give them in their own languages the light of Divine truth; they are idle—let us present them with inducements to industry; they have been cut off from the chase—let us give

inhabitants slaughtered with such indiscriminate fury, that even women and children perished in the assault.

It must however be mentioned, that the United States have passed several laws to mitigate, as much as possible, the wretchedness of the scattered remnants of the Indians. They have given legislative encouragement to missionaries and teachers to settle among them; they have also prohibited private individuals from purchasing their land, thus saving them from the cupidity and fraud of unprincipled speculators. All sales must now be made to the agents of government, and they are conducted with probably as much fairness as will ever be found, in bargains where the one party has no choice but to take whatever the other is pleased to give;—"acres for beads and penknives," says an intelligent American writer, "provinces for blankets, and empires for powder, ball, and rum!—A heavy reckoning rests on the heads of the civilized communities in America, for their cruel treatment of the American aborigines, and of the not less injured Africans." "They say that they have bought the land," exclaims Mr. Wirt, the present Attorney General of the United States, "bought it! Yes; of whom? Of the poor trembling natives, who knew that refusal would be in vain; and who strove to make a merit of necessity, by seeming to yield with grace, what they knew they had not the power to retain. Such a bargain may appease the conscience of a gentleman of the green bag, worn and hackneyed in the arts and frauds of his profession; but in Heaven's chancery, there can be little doubt that it has been long since set aside on the ground of duress." *Letters of the British Spy, 7th edit. p.* 78.

them a knowledge of the useful arts; they are spiritless and disheartened—let us cheer them with the hope of present comfort and future happiness; let the use of ardent spirits be by every possible means discouraged; let them be protected from the unprincipled artifices of those, with whom a desire for gain obliterates every consideration of moral duty; along with all let them be offered the hand of disinterested friendship and sincere brotherly kindness, and there is not a doubt but that they will grasp and press it to their heart. Let the rising generation receive the unappreciable benefits of early education, mechanical, literary, and religious; and let no one question the truth of what the wise man said, of 'training up a child in the way he should go.' The moral waste will then assume an aspect of culture and fertility; confusion will give place to order, sloth to industry, misery to happiness, and, as the glorious consummation of all, on the red Indians of North America, 'the sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under his wings.'

Within these few years the history, languages, and religion,[11] of these scattered tribes, have begun

[11] What is here communicated respecting the languages and religion of the Indian tribes relates to those who lived eastward of the Mississippi, and chiefly to the Lenapé or Delawares. My principal authority is the very interesting work of Mr. John Heckewelder, of the Moravian settlement of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, who has spent the greater part of a pretty long life as a missionary among the Indians; and whose work is characterized throughout with candour,

to attract the attention of men of enlarged and cultivated minds, and many facts have been disclosed which well deserve the attention of reflecting men. The limits of this letter, necessarily preclude my entering minutely upon topics, which would require each a separate essay of considerable length, I shall therefore be brief and general in the following sketch.[12]

Whence America was peopled, has long been a knotty point with writers on the history of man, and if Robertson has not satisfactorily solved it, the probability is that it never will be solved. There is every reason, however, to believe that the

discrimination and good sense. His account is contained in the 'Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia. Vol. I. Phil. 1819.' To the same work, and the authorities there quoted, I refer for ample confirmation of all that I have stated on Indian character and customs. A judicious view of the religious opinions of the Indians, with some particulars as to their language, is contained in a 'Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society, December, 20th, 1819,' by Dr. Jarvis, an Episcopalian clergyman. The late Dr. Boudinot's 'Star in the West' is also a work which satisfactorily supports many of the statements of other writers; although it seems impossible to coincide in the amiable author's favourite hypothesis, that the Indians were the representatives of the ten tribes of Israel; an idea first suggested by Adair,

[12] A particular account of these antiquities will be found in Dr. Harris's 'Tour to the country northwest of the Alleghany mountains, Boston 1805,' and in the first volume of 'Archæologia Americana, Worcester Mas: 1820.' A comprehensive view of the latter volume is contained in the North American Review, No. XXXI. p. 225.

present Indians are at least the second distinct race, which has existed on what are now the territories of the United States. In the State of Ohio and its neighbourhood, remains have been discovered of extensive artificial mounds, on which it seems to be satisfactorily ascertained that the third successive growth of timber is more than four hundred years old. These works are constructed in the most systematic manner; and consist principally of circles, squares, and octagons, provided with openings for gates at regular intervals, and occasionally connected with each other by long passages similarly intrenched. The surface enclosed, varies in extent from one to a hundred acres; the walls are from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter at the base, and taper gradually to a proportionate height. Ditches, outer lines of circumvallation, and other characteristics of defensive works are plainly discernible. Some circular tumuli within those works have been opened, and found to contain human bones of various sizes. In others have been discovered fragments of armour, composed of copper overlaid with silver and attached by rivets to pieces of leather; fragments of copper tubes filled with iron rust, copper spear heads, bricks, urns of baked clay, stone axes of various kinds, articles for domestic purposes, and rude imitations in stone of the human bust.

That these earthen fortifications are not the work of the Indians, is proved by these articles which have

been discovered; for till the arrival of Europeans among them, they were utterly unacquainted with metals, they had no idea of bricks, or imitations in stone of the human figure. The bones also which have been excavated belong to a different race of men; the fascial angle of the cranium is much smaller, and the whole skeleton shorter and thicker. The Indians, besides, know nothing of these works; nor have they any tradition respecting them, which would doubtless not have been wanting had they been the work of their own ancestors. It does not even appear that they ever avail themselves of them, either for one purpose or another. Although philosophers, therefore, had come to an agreement respecting the origin of the Indians, they would have 'yet a harder task to prove,' in exploring to us the history and the fate, of this race which has gone before them.

Among the Indians who formerly peopled that part of the continent which lies east of the Mississippi, three languages appear to have been spoken, radically different from each other. At least all the dialects, of which any vestiges survive, have been satisfactorily traced to one or other of three great sources; among which as yet no affinity has been detected, except that of a somewhat similar grammatical structure. We should probably err, however, were we to decide that these nations were not originally of a common origin. They were unacquainted with letters, and their languages were

therefore liable to perpetual change; and as it is but lately that these supposed primitive tongues have been reduced to so small a number, it seems not improbable that farther investigation may limit them yet more.

These languages have been called the Iroquois, the Lenapé, and the Floridian. The first is the origin of the dialects spoken by the Six Nations, to which I have already alluded, and other tribes formerly existing north of the St. Lawrence. The second was spoken by the Delawares and others, once occupying the greater part of the interior of the United States. The third is spoken by the Creeks, and others in the southern States, and Florida.

The Lenapé tongue appears to have prevailed much more extensively than either of the others, and was, so far as we yet know, much more copious and systematic. Its grammatical system is highly artificial, and disappoints completely every *a priori* idea, which we can have of an unwritten language spoken by roving hunters. In place of the division of nouns into the genders, it recognises only the distinctions of animate and inanimate,[13] and this classification passes also into verbs. It possesses a singular, dual, and two plurals, a particular and a general. In the verb, the variety of moods and tenses appears to have exceeded that of the Greek; and its flexion is modified not only

[13] It is worthy of remark that the whole of the vegetable world belongs to the first class, except *annuals* and *grasses*.

by pronominal prefixes and affixes, as in the Hebrew, but also by others having an adverbial and conjunctive power. The verb enters besides into combination with nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, with a facility unknown in European languages, so that a very complicated idea which in modern languages would require a circumlocution, is intelligibly condensed in the Lenapé into a single word, expressive of person, action, time, place, and circumstance. From this characteristic of the Indian languages, for it extends throughout them all, an American writer has given them the very appropriate epithet of *polysynthetic.*

The language of the Iroquois is thought to exist in its purest state in the Mohawk dialect. The other five nations readily understand what is written in the Mohawk, although each individually has a different tongue. The Iroquois seems not to have been so critically analyzed as the Lenapé, but so far as has been yet ascertained, it corresponds in most of its grammatical peculiarities, particularly that of being polysynthetic. It recognizes, however, the distinction of masculine and feminine in nouns.

The Floridian is less known than either of the others, and with regard to those dialects prevalent to the westward of the Mississippi, there seems to exist no certain information.

The earlier accounts which we have of the religion of the Indians, are fabulous and inconsistent.

When the Red men discovered the true character of those who had come among them, they gave them the epithet of 'the accursed people,' and soon, as if by common consent, refused to communicate any information which it was in their power to withhold. On the subject of their religious worship they were particularly jealous of research, and in nothing did they appear so determined to baffle and mislead the curious enquirer. It was not therefore till missionaries had resided long among them, and completely acquired their confidence, that they were able to penetrate into their religious system, and unravel the contradictions of early travellers.

The Indian's creed is remarkably simple, and there is nothing connected with their singular character, which so much elevates them above the heathens of every other age and country. The theology of ancient Egypt, even in the mouths of Greeks and Romans, was proverbial for its absurdity; while that of its satirists, after being to the utmost softened down and allegorized by its apologists, remains only a striking illustration of the truth of the divine record, "the world by wisdom knew not God." The superstitions of Eastern India, which have in our day excited considerable investigation, seem to be, in barbarity and impurity, the very concentration of Satanic influence. Contrasted with any, or all of these, the superstitions of the poor Indians of North America, people without an al-

phabet, and, if we will believe some philosophers, without an idea, are distinguished by a degree of simplicity and humanity, which is in no slight degree worthy of our admiration.

The unity of God seems to be in a singular degree recognized in the Indian's mind; that God also is a Spirit, and not to be represented by any visible symbol, is to the fullest extent believed and acted upon. In these two particulars, the religion of the Indian tribes leaves at an unmeasured distance the pantheons of antiquity. Their prayers and adoration are offered to the Good Manitou, or Great Spirit, whom they regard as the supreme creator and preserver of the universe, to whom all things animate and inanimate are completely and perpetually subject; and in their conceptions of him, he is invested with every attribute of perfection and benevolence of which they are able to conceive.

Though however they thus in some measure recognize the unity and spirituality of the supreme God, they believe that he has committed to a number of inferior deities the administration of worldly affairs; and more particularly that to each person a tutelary spirit or genius is assigned, to guide and protect him. To these inferior spirits they address a kind of subordinate worship, propitiating their favour by sacrifice; but they at the same time affirm that the Great Spirit is the ultimate object of these prayers and offerings.

Besides these inferior spirits, which they regard

as benevolent in their dispositions, they believe in another class, who are decidedly evil in their inclinations and influence. Over them they suppose one of superior power to preside, whom they regard by way of eminence as the Evil Manitou. They consider him however, and all his agents, as completely under the control of the Great Spirit.

Connected with this creed they have a ritual, to which they were accustomed in former times most rigidly to adhere. They had various seasons of public rejoicing and thanksgiving, for instance at harvest, and the hunting season; at these the aged men of the tribe officiated as priests. They had also private religious services, at which the father of the family presided.

They have also among them a class of men whom they regard as prophets or diviners, who are supposed to be possessed of supernatural powers, and capable of prognosticating and partially controlling future events. Their belief in the power of these men is perhaps the weakest point in their character. The denunciation of a prophet operates so powerfully on an Indian's fears, that his mental energies are completely paralyzed; and as many a prophecy has led to its own accomplishment, so the evil which the diviners threaten has often, through the very terror of it, actually come to pass.

The Indians were formerly accustomed to pay particular attention to the instruction of their

children. From their earliest years they inculcated on them a belief in the superintending providence of the Great Spirit, and instructed them to address themselves to him in prayer and thanksgiving. Before boys are allowed to go out to war, or to hunt, they are subjected to a particular initiatory ceremony, during which it is supposed that the symbol of the genius or spirit, under whose superintendence they are placed, is revealed to them. This ceremony is connected with a course of fasting and discipline, which continues for several days; and it is no wonder that superstitious ideas are excited, during the mental and corporeal exhaustion produced by a continued course of severe penance.

This is a rapid, and of course imperfect sketch, of the Indian theological system. Erroneous as it is, it is not difficult to trace in it the remains of a purer creed. It seems scarcely possible that the progenitors of the Indians, whoever they may have been, could be idolaters. It seems far more probable, that their theological system had its origin in the obscured traditions received from patriarchal times. If so, we may regard the Great Spirit, as the God who preserved Noah from the waters of the deluge; and the inferior benevolent spirits, as the surviving recollections of those ministering angels, who were so frequently sent in early times to hold personal converse with the children of God. Those of a malevolent disposition

and evil influence, are at once identified with the apostate spirits, who under their great leader wage a yet unceasing war, with all that acknowledges allegiance to God; and their subordination to the Great Spirit corresponds with the revealed truth, that they are "held in chains to the judgment of the great day." Sacrifice and oblation, with a public and private priesthood, carry us back to a once pure worship; and the prophets who now delude and destroy them, are beyond doubt the traditionary descendants of those who were "prophets indeed." The careful instruction of their children in devotion to the Great Spirit, commemorates the care which "the fathers" took to preserve alive in their families the knowledge of the true God.

We can scarcely I think contemplate the singular features of coincidence in the religion of Noah, and that of the poor Indians, without esteeming it exceedingly probable that their race must have been an offset from his, before idolatry had gained a footing among his children But after all, how little is it that we can ascertain?—we may calculate the probability of one hypothesis, as contrasted with the improbability of another; but all beyond this is shrouded in darkness. Their present condition and future prospects more imperiously demand our attention; and so far as our efforts are available in their behalf, reason and religion alike demand that they should not be with-

held. We are not responsible for their former condition; for their present, and future, we are. If we would wish to save this interesting race from utter extinction, let us immediately rouse ourselves in their behalf. Experience tells us, that what has been, may be; and if ten Indians have been rescued from dissipation and wretchedness, through the knowledge of the word of God, we are entitled to believe that ten thousand may yet follow them. There are some who will scoff at such an idea; but did they regard the voice of inspiration, we could tell them—" not by might, nor by power, but my my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."[14]

[14] Just as this sheet was preparing for press, I had the high gratification of an interview with Mr. John D. Hunter, whose narrative of a captivity among the Indians, from infancy till he was about nineteen years of age, has recently been published. The tribes among whom he spent his youth, live to the westward of the Mississippi, and some of their customs differ from those of the Lenapé nation; in the more essential features however of their religious belief, and social system, there is a decided and very remarkable coincidence.

No one who is acquainted with Mr. Hunter's history, can enter into conversation with him, without being astonished at the extent of his information, and the vigour of his mind. He stands in a very singular relation both to whites and to Indians; he has probably more in his power than ever a white man had, to promote a beneficial change on the condition of the surviving aborigines; and we cannot help cherishing a hope, that much is to be effected through his instrumentality. See " *Memoirs of a captivity among the Indians of North America, &c. by John D. Hunter. London, Longman & Co.* 1823."

LETTER XV.

LETTER XV.

NIAGARA TOWN—FORT GEORGE—FORT NIAGARA—THE KALEIDOSCOPE—JAIL—LAKE ONTARIO—YORK—KINGSTON—NAVY YARD—EVENTS OF LAST WAR—BANK—DURHAM BOATS AND BATTEAUX—LAKE OF A THOUSAND ISLES—CANADIAN BOAT SONGS—FARM HOUSE—PRESCOTT—OGDENSBURGH—PASSAGE DOWN THE RAPIDS—LONG SAULT—TIMBER RAFTS—LAKE ST. FRANCIS—NARRATIVE OF A SHIPWRECK—PILOT—RAPIDS OF COTEAU DE LAC—CEDARS—SPLIT ROCK—CASCADES—LAKE ST. LOUIS—LA CHINE—CALASH—MONTREAL.

Montreal, November, 1818.

NIAGARA, the little town from which my last two letters were dated, is built upon the British side of the river, close by its entrance into Lake Ontario. Map-makers and travellers persist in calling it Newark, but that name is not acknowledged by the inhabitants. Fort George, a turf intrenchment of considerable extent, garrisoned at present by part of the 70th regiment, stands close by the town. During last war it was captured by the Americans and held for a considerable time. Niagara enjoys an excellent situation for commerce, but the inhabitants have not yet recovered from the vicissitudes of th elate struggle.

On the opposite bank of the river and close upon

the edge of the lake, is the American garrison of fort Niagara, a stone fortification which was built originally by the French, but which has been considerably improved and strengthened, particularly since the conclusion of last war. After the British had recovered Fort George, they crossed the river and carried Fort Niagara by assault, and kept possession of it till the peace. At present its republican owners are busily employed in improving their defences, particularly towards the lake, where a strong breast-work is thrown up to resist the encroachment of the water, which was threatening to undermine the whole fabric.

Travellers have said that Fort Niagara is lower than Fort George, and commanded by its fire, but the very reverse is the case; no part of the American fort is under the level of the British one, but most of it considerably above it. It is said that our government has in consequence determined to level the present works, and erect a strong fort closer to the lake; where there is already a small one called fort Mississaga.

An accidental introduction to one of the American officers procured me an invitation to dine at fort Niagara. A fortress must be a dull place in the time of peace, and I could not help pitying the young men who are cooped up here, with little else to do than change guard and call the muster roll. A friendly intercourse with the officers on the opposite side of the river would be useful and

pleasant to both parties; but I thought that some incidental remarks implied a want of this.

The Kaleidoscope became a topic of conversation after dinner; the first which has been seen in fort Niagara produced a prodigious sensation in the garrison. A private soldier had brought one from New York, where they are sold at a very cheap rate; the officers after gazing through it for hours, vainly endeavouring to guess at a theory which could account for its singular phenomena, prevailed on the soldier to sell it to them for ten dollars, forty five shillings sterling, that they might have it dissected. Probably it did not cost the soldier more than a tenth part of the sum, but they knew not how to value an instrument containing gems of such singular beauty and variety. The bargain was no sooner concluded than all crowded round a table, to explore the interior of the magical tin tube, their curiosity wound up to the highest state of breathlessness—but what was their astonishment, on the ends being taken off, to see that nothing came out but a few beads and pieces of broken glass! They had an opportunity soon after of showing it to an Indian; and as some compensation for their own disappointment, they had the pleasure of seeing him turn it round and round for nearly a whole day, wondering when it would get back again to the figures which he had first seen.

Niagara is possessed of a court house and jail;

both under the same roof. The jail is on the lower floor. The cells, both for criminals and debtors, surround and open from the hall, which leads to the court room, and the guilty or unfortunate inmates are exposed to the gaze of every one, whom curiosity or idleness induces to enter. The partitions and doors of the various cells are composed of strong pieces of oak firmly bolted together; the doors are about nine inches thick, consisting of two thicknesses of wood with sheet iron between them. Some of the debtors' apartments have a small window to the the outside, but the criminals have no light but from a small semicircular opening in the door. The debtors have fire places, but the criminals have only the miserable comfort of looking out at a stove in the middle of the hall, from which no perceptible warmth can reach their dismal abodes. It must be truly dreadful to pass a Canadian winter in such a place. How miserably does this prison contrast with those in the United States!

I did not spend a sabbath in Niagara, and therefore can give no account of the theology which emanates from the single church of which it is possessed; but I fear much that it is of a lifeless kind. I was informed however that a sabbath school was about to be attempted;—all good attend it.

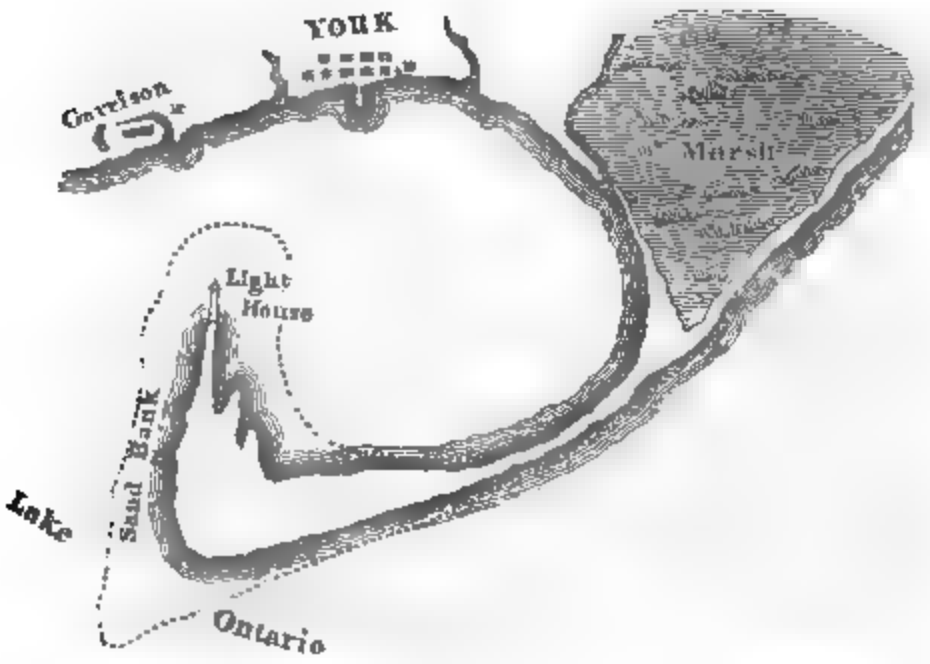
A large three masted steam boat, called the Frontenac, now navigates lake Ontario, but neither on this nor the former occasion did her time of sailing suit me. In May I made my passage in a

schooner, which conveyed me in two days and a half to Prescott, sixty seven miles below Kingston; and on the present occasion I availed myself of one which touched at York, the capital of the upper province, thirty six miles from Niagara, and then landed me at Kingston about 120 miles below.

Lake Ontario is nearly 170 miles long, and at the widest part about 60 miles broad. Its depth varies from 3 to 50 fathoms, except about the middle, where it is said that no bottom has been found even with 300 fathoms of line. Though a fresh water lake, its navigation requires almost all the precautions which are necessary at sea. The helmsman steers by the compass, and in his Majesty's vessels the log is regularly thrown. Lake Ontario is liable to sudden and violent storms, and though I happily escaped sharing in any thing that deserved that appellation, yet the swell was very great, and I became as thoroughly sea sick as if I had been on the Atlantic. We were out of sight of land for more than twenty four hours, although going for a considerable time at the rate of seven knots.

I had intended to disembark and spend a day or two at York, but the town was so completely filled with the retainers of the two rival fur companies, that I could not obtain lodgings. A trial was about to take place, of some individuals in the employment of the North-West Company, for alleged outrages on some of Lord Selkirk's people, and each party had mustered a host of agents and

voyageurs, to support by their evidence the cause of their masters. The appearance of York on this occasion strongly suggested what is related of Edinburgh, when the rival barons and their followings used to beard the monarch in his capital; and when the brawls of half civilized mountaineers, endangered the lives of the citizens. A very trifling collision between two of these canoemen, might have been no less perilous to the inhabitants of York; for in the remote regions from which they come, no law is known but that of the club or the knife, and no Highland clans could hold each other more at feud, than the companies do each other.



Probably I lost little by failing to obtain lodgings at York, for after rambling about for an hour,

I believe that I left little unvisited except the garrison. The town consists of one street lying parallel to the lake, and of the beginnings of two or three more at right angles to it. I saw only one church, which had been very much out of repair, but some workmen were employed in putting glass into the windows. The garrison is to the right of the town, and consists of a barrack flanked by a battery and two block houses; they are all of white-washed wood, and have a showy appearance from the water. The harbour of York might be a good one if a well sheltered bay were all that were necessary to form it, but the entrance is narrow and difficult, and in time of war it is completely defenceless.

The burning of York by the Americans during last war, with the public buildings, was the ostensible justification of our conduct at Washington. It certainly sounds like a matter of importance when we hear of the CAPITAL OF UPPER CANADA being destroyed, and the buildings appropriated to the TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT; but when the Capital is found to contain little more than a single small street, and the Parliament house is discovered to have been only a wooden one, the transition is something like that from the sublime to the ridiculous. The conduct of the Americans at York and Niagara cannot be defended—the system was a most savage one, and to them belongs the disgrace of having begun it, but let us know the

real extent of their outrage, and while we read that they burned York and Niagara, let us not forget that we retaliated by burning Lewiston and Buffalo, long before the attack on Washington was projected.

After lying at anchor for the night, we next morning worked out of York bay, and made sail for Kingston, where we arrived the following day about one o'clock.

Kingston enjoys a favourable position both for commercial and warlike operations. It stands at

the lower end of lake Ontario, where the waters contract into the commencement of the St. Lawrence; and it is the great concentrating point of intercourse between the upper and lower provinces. The natural advantages of the position have been greatly strengthened by fortifications; the harbour is deep, safe, and commodious, and although York enjoys the rank of the capital, and the presence of the legislature, Kingston will ever be the head quarters of all relating to military, naval, and commercial affairs. Its appearance from the water is very imposing. The town extends about three quarters of a mile, along a point of land at the narrow entrance to a small bay; a peninsula intervenes between this and a second little bay, beyond which is a corresponding projection on the opposite shore.

Within the entrance to the larger bay is the harbour of the town, which is generally crowded with schooners, Durham boats, and batteaux. The intermediate peninsula is occupied by the dock-yard, where the frames of two 74 gun ships are seen on the stocks, and beyond them piles of heavy cannon, gun carriages, and shot, with an armoury and various buildings connected with the naval department. In the basin which succeeds, are six or eight ships of war, dismantled and laid up; among which are, one of 102 guns, two frigates of 50, and one of 36. On the brow of the projecting point below this basin, is a strong fort, from

whose battlements the British colours are displayed. Smaller batteries line the shore in front of the dock-yard and the town, and contribute not a little to the gallant bearing which the settlement exhibits.

Kingston is built partly of dark stone, and partly of wood. The wooden houses predominate, but there are enough of the others to give the town a character decidedly different from that which prevails among those in the United States. Its public buildings consist of a Government and Court House, an Episcopalian and a Romish church, with a market house, jail, and hospital. The inn at which I lodged was a most comfortable one; and in its internal management, the same system prevailed with which travellers are familiar at home.

Finding little to interest me in the town, I crossed by a ferry-boat to the navy-yard. Following a path from the shore I reached a large gate, over which G. R. appeared, in the well known double cypher which was borne, a few years ago, on the front of the soldiers' caps. Two officers, one naval the other military, were walking near it, and on requesting permission to enter, they introduced me to a more elderly gentleman who came up at the moment, and who they informed me was the master-builder. 'To what country do you belong?' said the old gentleman. 'To Scotland.' 'O then you may enter by all means;—I thought

you might perhaps be from the United States.' 'Your tongue tells where you come from,' said one of the officers, and a sailor was ordered to take me round the yard, and show me every thing that I might wish to see.

The St. Lawrence of 102 guns was built on the spot, principally of pine, and she cost considerably less, my informant assured, than the Psyche of 50 guns, lying beside her, which was sent out in frame from England. The St. Lawrence is built in the American style, without any poop deck, and is so low between decks that I could not stand upright. Though plain however, she is a stout serviceable ship, and gave us the complete command of lake Ontario, which was previously in the hands of the Americans. 'On the day that she got her top-gallant-yards across,' said my conductor, 'the American fleet was opposite the town, but we never saw them more; they were off immediately for Sacketts harbour, and did not venture out again.'

The lake warfare was on our part sadly mismanaged. Frigates were sent out in frame, although to drag the timbers from Montreal to Kingston, cost more money, and consumed more time, than would have sufficed to build them on the spot, from the timber which was to be had for the felling. A large supply of water casks accompanied them, although it was only necessary to drop a bucket alongside, to get up as much water as wanted, and that of an excellent quality. That

things might be consistent throughout, and as if there had been no trees in Canada, an ample store of props and wedges, to be used in building and launching the imported frigates, was landed at Montreal; where they were abandoned, as not worth a twentieth part of what it would have cost, to have dragged them half way to Kingston. A few axes and hands to wield them were all that was needed there, to supply timber, not only for the cradles, but for the ships which were to be launched from them. War is a costly trade, but when its management is characterized by such gross ignorance, or disregard, of the geographical characteristics of the country in which it is carried on, the most lavish expenditure must in general end only in discomfiture and disgrace. Long may it be ere another war takes place between Britain and America; but if it must come, let us hope that our national honour will not again be compromised by sheer ignorance and imbecility.

The building of the two seventy-fours, which are on the stocks, was stopped by the peace. One of them was in the hands of British carpenters, the other of native Canadians, and they were intended to afford a trial of skill between them; I have been told that the preponderance of talent and industry in favour of the British artificers, was by no means very remarkable. These vessels were to have had poop decks, and every other appointment of regular seventy-fours.

The Americans are said to have built their vessels on the lakes with much more expedition than we did. They gave themselves little trouble about smoothing and decorating them, but were content if they were stoutly and speedily put together. I was assured, while going down lake Champlain, that, eleven days before the battle of Plattsburgh, in which Commodore Downie was killed and our squadron captured, the timber which composed the hulls of some of the American vessels was actually growing in the woods.

Except the navy-yard, and the fortifications, which I had not time to visit, there is little to detain a traveller at Kingston. After the dullness of Niagara and York, there is an air of life and activity about it, which makes one feel as if he were getting into the world again. A bank is about to be established, and a meeting took place at the inn in the evening, of a few individuals who were interested in the enterprize, and who had a world of discussion as to the design of their notes. Travellers are prone to hasty decisions; but from the conversation of the committee on the note, which took place openly in the travellers' room, I fear that the principles of banking are but slenderly understood by this new corporation.

Another day or two might have been agreeably spent here, but October was closing upon me, and I feared that frost might set in, which would make travelling both difficult and disagreeable. It was

therefore with pleasure that I learned that some batteaux were to go down the river the following morning, and I did not fail to be at the water side in time to secure a passage by them.

From Kingston to Prescott, 67 miles, the river is navigable by schooners and sloops;[1] but between Prescott and Montreal, a distance of 130 miles, there are numerous rapids which are impassable by any thing larger than a batteau or a Durham boat. On my first descent of the stream, in May, the schooner in which I had sailed from Niagara carried me to Prescott, whence I made my passage in a Durham boat to La Chine, nine miles from Montreal. I was glad therefore to have an opportunity on this occasion, of making trial of a batteau.

The Durham boats of the St. Lawrence are similar to those on the Mohawk. In smooth water they use a sail or oars, but are forced up the rapids by incessant and laborious exertions with the pole. They are generally navigated by natives of the United States. The one in which I sailed in May was, according to the information of the captain, 62 feet in keel, and 11 feet 4 inches in beam; she

[1] Mr. Howison has erroneously stated that sloops and schooners cannot pass between Kingston and Prescott, "in consequence of the rapidity of the current and the obstructions of the channel." I not only sailed in a schooner all the way from lake Ontario to Prescott, but saw plenty of others making the same voyage. See *Howison's Upper Canada, p. 25. first edit.*

carried about 26 tons, and drew only 28 inches water. She had on board about 270 barrels of flour, which sunk her gunwale within a few inches of the water; and to defend us in passing through the rapids, a couple of stout planks, about a foot in breadth, were nailed along the sides; a precaution which, as we afterwards experienced, was no more than needful.

Batteaux are flat bottomed boats, about half the size of the others, tapering to a point at each end, and so substantially constructed that they will endure a great deal of hard knocking on the channel, without danger to the passengers. They do not sink so low in the water as the Durham boats, and are navigated by Canadian *voyageurs*, veterans who have been trained from their youth to the use of the paddle and the setting pole, and who know every channel, rock, and breaker, in the rapids, from the Long Sault to Montreal. If a traveller going down the river has his choice, let him by all means prefer the batteau;[2] it does not sail so fast as a Durham boat, and he may be a day longer in making the passage, but in ordinary cases he is far safer.

Passengers by either of these vessels must take

[2] I understand that a covered boat now navigates the rapids, constructed expressly for the conveyance of passengers, and that steam boats are in preparation to run from Kingston to Prescott, and on lakes St. Francis, and St. Louis. This arrangement will form a very convenient chain of communication between Montreal and lake Ontario. (1821.)

with them a moderate supply of provisions, for it is not customary to go on shore except to sleep; and if the wind is a-head, four or five days may be spent between Kingston and Montreal. Going up the river is a far more tedious process. They should also be well provided, even in summer, with cloaks or other coverings, for the night dews on the river are excessively cold.

The batteau sailed from Kingston with a favourable breeze between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and while the wind lasted got on gallantly, but towards the afternoon we were almost becalmed in the lake of a Thousand Isles, and our *voyageurs* were compelled to tug away at the oar; we had four rowers, besides the *conducteur* who steered with a small paddle. The scenery of this lake, as it is called, is very picturesque; but the succession of islands becomes at last tiresome, the more so that you find them take the wind out of the sail, and wofully retard your progress. I had made allowance for a reasonable proportion of exaggeration in its poetical name, but the islands crowded upon each other in such numerous groupes, and we were so long of getting clear of them, that I began at last to doubt whether there might not be two thousand, instead of one. They are of all sizes; some of them bare rocks, a few feet square, others two or three miles long, and thickly wooded. Loch Lomond, with her two dozen of islets, has long sheltered the manufac-

turers of the genuine *peat reek* from the scent of the revenue officers; but this must be the very paradise of smugglers, should such a trade ever become profitable in Upper Canada; and a hopeless business it will be for the excisemen, who are sent to ferret them out.

Towards evening it began to rain; but some of the company on board were more disagreeable than the weather. These were part of a detachment of peripatetic Thespians, who had sojourned for some time at Kingston, and were on their return to the lower province; the charms of some bottles of rum which they had on board were too strong for their self-denying powers, they became very soon completely intoxicated, and inundated us with disgusting loquacity. But for their presence, I could have endured the rain for an hour or two, to listen to the boat songs of the Canadian voyageurs, which in the stillness of the night had a peculiarly pleasing effect. They kept time to these songs as they rowed; and the plashing of the oars in the water, combined with the wildness of their cadences, gave a romantic character to our darksome voyage. In most of the songs two of the boatmen began the air, the other two sang a response, and then all united in the chorus. Their music might not have been esteemed fine, by those whose skill in concords and chromatics, forbids them to be gratified but on scientific principles; my convenient ignorance of

these rules allowed me to reap undisturbed enjoyment from the voyageurs' melodies, which like many of our Scotish airs were singularly plaintive and pleasing.

Our conducteur expected to have reached Brockville that evening, a small town about 55 miles below Kingston, but we began to be somewhat impatient to get on shore. The evening was so dark, that we could with difficulty distinguish even the shadowy outline of the banks of the river; not a sound was heard around us but the echo of the voices of those on board, or the plash of the oars; and we were gliding along with no other conviction of safety than what arose from confidence in our boatmen. About eight o'clock, a twinkling light by the river's side broke upon our view; we hailed the cheering spark, and urged the conducteur to haul in to the bank, in the hope of obtaining lodgings. It was a farmer's house; a crackling fire of pine logs blazed on the ample hearth, festoons of sliced apples for winter pies, hung round it to dry, and the comfortable kitchen contrasted most agreeably with our situation in the batteau in darkness and rain. The inmates made us welcome to their fire side, and although not much used to entertain strangers, very soon provided for us a most comfortable supper. Hot steaks, fried bacon and potatoes, and for those who preferred it, tea and toast, were served up with an alacrity and neatness which would have done credit to a regular

inn. It scarcely needs to be added, that we enacted wonders with the knife and fork. When the time of retiring came, every bed in the house was surrendered for our use; but finding that I could not participate in one, unless I accepted also of a bed-fellow, I preferred my box-coat and the floor.

About two o'clock next morning, we were roused to resume our voyage. The boatmen before starting swallowed a plentiful allowance of soup thickened with meat and bread, very similar to what sailors call *lobscoss;* the players fortified themselves for the water by an antiphogmatic of rum.

The wind had shifted during the night, and was now right a-head; it was a genuine American north-wester, and blew as if it were resolved to take the skin off our cheeks. The water froze upon the oars, as they rose above the surface; and I never appreciated better the comforts of a thick travelling coat, and a fur cap. Our boatmen had to row without intermission; and although they did not always pull very hard, they tugged away with amazing constancy. About nine o'clock in the morning we reached Prescott, sixty-seven miles from Kingston.

Prescott is at present a poor village, although from its position, at the bottom of the sloop navigation, it is likely to be ultimately a place of some importance. I slept here on my former passage down the river; but although there are two or three taverns and several stores, I could not any

where get small notes for a ten dollar one. Close by Prescott is a small turf intrenchment, dignified with the appellation of Fort Wellington; I applied for admission to it, but was refused by the sentinel at the gate. There is a thriving little town on the American side of the river, immediately opposite Prescott, called Ogdensburgh, to which I was obliged to cross to have my note exchanged. It is characterized by all the activity for which the young towns in the United States are so remarkable; and the contrast of apathy and inexertion on the one side of the river, with bustle and business on the opposite, cannot but be mortifying to one of genuine national feelings. The Durham boat in which I first navigated the rapids, started from Ogdensburgh, with a cargo of flour and bacon, which after being entered at the custom house at Prescott, was conveyed for sale to Montreal.

As you have probably had enough of my companions in the batteau, I shall take leave of them here, and revert to my first passage down the river, in the American Durham boat.

It was on a very hot afternoon in the latter end of May, that we sailed from the wharf at Prescott. Below the village are several islands, more or less covered by wood; one of them was completely stripped in a single night, during last war, to prevent the American soldiers from lurking in the bushes, and making an unexpected descent. When we passed it, it bore the tents of

the British Commissioners, who are employed in tracing the boundary line between Canada and the United States; those of the American party who co-operated with them, reposed upon the right hand shore, and the snow-white drapery of the two peaceful encampments added much to the picturesque effect of the scenery.

Soon after passing this island we were delayed for some time at the river side, while the owner of the flour made an ineffectual effort to negotiate a sale; and evening began to droop down as we approached the commencement of the Long Sault. This rapid is said to be about eight miles in length, from the first visible acceleration of the stream to the bottom of the Big Pitch. For a considerable proportion of this distance however the water is perfectly smooth, and at intervals the descent of the channel, and of course the rapidity of the stream, are not much greater than above its commencement. It is indeed, correctly speaking, a succession of rapids, and I believe there are different names for the several portions of it; but it is not unusual to comprehend the whole under the general name of the Long Sault.

I observed that during the second passage we took exactly forty minutes, to traverse the whole extent; during the first descent we must have taken less.

The sun was in the act of setting when we entered the Long Sault, but the sky was cloudless

and serene. The wind, which had previously favoured us, died gradually away, and the sail hung loosely from the gaff. Our steersman turned his head wistfully towards the fading beams—"Pull away, my lads, pull away; we are late enough." The rowers with the composure and silence of machinery, lengthened the stroke, and bent themselves to their oars with all the energy of which their well-strung muscles were capable. The Durham boat was so deeply laden, that there was room only for two oars, and these at the very bow; we had four hands however, so that each was doubly manned.

In a short time we reached an island which divides the current of the river, and we steered for the right hand channel. The tall pines which covered the island to the water's edge threw a gloom across the confined pass, if I may so call it, and the burden of Moore's song was forcibly suggested.

> "Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
> The rapids are near and the day light's past!"

Though the afternoon had been very hot, and the sun's rays, reflected from the water, so powerful that I felt my face quite scorched, yet evening brought a chill along with it which strongly inclined me to have recourse to my great coats. When I looked however to the frightful rapidity with which the stream now hurried us along, I could not resist a feeling that I should be safer

without their encumbrance. Little indeed could the most expert swimmer hope to effect in such a torrent—and feeble my hope of safety where skill in swimming is necessary to secure it—yet who is it that would not struggle for his life, even in the rapids of the St. Lawrence?

The velocity of the stream was now equal probably to about ten knots an hour, yet its surface was as smooth as glass. To look into the water we might easily have persuaded ourselves that we were quietly slumbering at anchor; but when we glanced at either bank, the pine trees seemed to whirl past with the rapidity of thought. Might not a moralist trace in the rapid of the Long Sault, an apt emblem of worldly pleasures?—Smooth and seductive in their early aspect, they lure the bark of inexperienced youth; and alternating for a time between excitement and repose, deceive him with the hope that retreat will be at all times easy;—by imperceptible degrees their power increases, the surface may be still unbroken, but the current hastens its career—one landmark after another vanishes from his sight—the season of deliberation goes past—he casts a wistful look at the shore, but no human power can enable him to reach it—he is hurried on, and on, and on—the waves heave in frightful commotion around him—his trembling vessel rocks and pitches in the stream—till at last it is overwhelmed, if a power above his own prevent not, in the roaring and tumultuous breakers.

The two currents after embracing the island, revert below it into a single stream. The extreme commotion with which this re-union is accomplished is the occasion of the Big Pitch. The furious torrents rush against each other like two charging squadrons, heaving up their roaring billows, and tossing high their crests of broken foam; retiring at last with apparent reluctance from the conflict, and whirling into numerous eddies by the margin of the stream.

Ere the tops of the white breakers became visible, preparations were made for encountering the commotion. The sail was lowered down and the gaff secured, the steersman called one of the hands to his assistance, the rest hung upon their oars, waiting the word of command to strike in. The boat began now to rock from side to side, and the terrible cauldron was boiling before us. All that could be done, was to direct our course to that part of the channel where experience told them that the passage was least hazardous, and then, with all their strength, to pull the vessel through. I felt an involuntary shrinking as the captain aimed for what seemed to me the most frightful spot of all;—we were swept into the midst of the furious commotion, and the order was just given 'Pull away!' when a heavy wave burst in over our feeble bulwarks. Our quivering bark however struggled manfully through; our danger was but momentary, and we soon reached the sub-

siding billows which skirt the extremities of the heavy swell.

Another peril however succeeded. The thrilling emotion excited by the passage of the Big Pitch had not subsided, when our vessel was caught in the vortex of a powerful eddy, and whirled round almost broadside to the stream. "Pull away with the starboard oar!" roared the steersman, with a voice like thunder, and a tremendous oath; the order was promptly obeyed, the command of the vessel recovered, and we once more found ourselves in smooth water. We had shipped more than a hogshead of water in this dangerous rapid.

It was now about nine o'clock, and hauling in along shore for the night, we got lodgings at a settler's house near the river.

Next morning at four we reimbarked; the wind was now quite fair and blowing fresh, and we got along with ease and rapidity. Soon after starting we passed the village of Cornwall on the left bank, and entered a wider part of the river called lake St. Francis.

In this lake, which is nearly thirty miles long, we passed some rafts of timber on their way to Montreal. These rafts are of a prodigious size, and the people who navigate them live during the passage in a small hut, which is erected on the top. A stout railing goes round the edge of the raft, from which long oars hang down at short distances into the water; the men go from one oar to another as necessity requires, and by

vigorous exertion at rowing, keep the raft in the proper part of the stream. When the wind is fair small sails are spread out, but at other times they depend upon the force of the current to be carried forward. Notwithstanding every precaution in the construction of these rafts, they are not unfrequently dashed to pieces in shooting the rapids.

Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon we approached the lower end of lake St. Francis, where a succession of furious rapids begins; and we hauled in to the left hand shore at the village of Coteau du Lac, to procure a pilot. It is not in general from any distrust of their own ability, to navigate these dangerous passages, that the captains of the Durham boats take pilots here; but because, by a very salutary regulation, the owner of the boat becomes responsible for the value of the cargo, if this precaution is neglected. Instances have happened of their incurring this responsibility, and in 1810 a shipwreck, in which several people lost their lives, was the consequence of such fool hardiness.[3] The owner of our cargo of flour

[3] A particular account of this catastrophe has recently appeared, written by one of the passengers in the boat, who was most singularly preserved, after having been carried down the rapids on a part of the wreck. It corresponds exactly with what I heard on various occasions in Canada, and is so interesting that I make no apology for subjoining it, as it appears in the Edinburgh Magazine for February 1819. The writer is inaccurate as to the distance between the rapids; and he makes some reflections on the poor Indians which might well have been spared, because totally inconsistent with the

detailed to me the frightful circumstances of this catastrophe; and it was therefore with no small satisfaction that I heard our steersman mention his

character of those of them who have not been degraded by the vices and immoralities of the whites; but these circumstances do not affect the general accuracy of the narrative.

['The following Narrative first appeared a few days ago in the Liverpool Mercury, the editors of which state that they have published it by the permission of the writer, who is a well-known merchant of great respectability in that city. We have been induced to transfer it into our miscellany, not merely from the uncommon interest of the detail, but because we happen to be able to vouch for its authenticity, upon the undoubted testimony of a gentleman now in Edinburgh, who was residing on the banks of the St. Lawrence at the time the accident happened, and who was intimately acquainted with some individuals of the party below alluded to. One of these, rescued *above* the Cascades, was Lieutenant Allan Maclean of the 41st, then on his way to join his regiment at Quebec. As the writer of the Narrative has not himself given his own name to the public, we do not avail ourselves of our private information to mention it.'—*Edit. of Edin. Mag.*]

"On the 22d day of April 1810, our party set sail in a large schooner from Fort George, or Niagara Town, and in two days crossed lake Ontario to Kingston, at the head of the river St. Lawrence, distant from Niagara about 200 miles. Here we hired an American barge (a large flat-bottomed boat) to carry us to Montreal, a further distance of 200 miles; then set out from Kingston on the 28th of April, and arrived the same evening at Ogdensburgh, a distance of 75 miles. The following evening we arrived at Cornwall, and the succeeding night at Pointe du Lac, on lake St. Francis. Here our bargemen obtained our permission to return up the river; and we embarked in another barge, deeply laden with potashes, passengers, and luggage. Above Montreal, for nearly 100 miles, the river St. Lawrence is interrupted in its course by rapids, which are occasioned by the river being confined in comparatively narrow, shallow, rocky channels;—through these it rushes with great force and noise, and is

purpose of taking a pilot,—particularly as he afterwards boasted that he could navigate the vessel as well as the best of them.

agitated like the ocean in a storm. Many people prefer these rapids, for grandeur of appearance, to the falls of Niagara. They are from half a mile to nine miles long each, and require regular pilots. On the 30th of April we arrived at the village of the Cedars, immediately below which are three sets of very dangerous rapids, (the Cedars, the Split-rock, and the Cascades,) distant from each other about one mile. On the morning of the 1st of May we set out from the Cedars, the barge very deep and very leaky. The captain, a daring rash man, refused to take a pilot. After we passed the Cedar rapid, not without danger, the captain called for some rum, swearing, at the same time, that God Almighty could not steer the barge better than he did !* Soon after this we entered the Split-rock rapids by a wrong channel, and found ourselves advancing rapidly towards a dreadful watery precipice, down which we went. The barge slightly grazed her bottom against the rock, and the fall was so great as nearly to take away the breath. We here took in a great deal of water, which was mostly baled out again before we were hurried on to what the Canadians call the 'grand bouillon,' or great boiling. In approaching this place the captain let go the helm, saying, 'By God! here we fill.' The barge was almost immediately overwhelmed in the midst of immense foaming breakers, which rushed over the bows, carrying away planks, oars, &c. About half a minute elapsed between the filling and going down of the barge, during which I had sufficient presence of mind to strip off my three coats, and was loosening my suspenders, when the barge sunk, and I found myself floating in the midst of people, baggage, &c. Each man caught hold of something; one of the crew caught hold of me, and kept me down under water, but contrary to my expectation, let me go again. On arising to the surface, I got hold of a trunk, on which two other men were then holding. Just at this spot, where

* 'This insane and impious bravado is still remembered in Canada. *Edit. Edin. Mag.*'

We were detained at this village for a considerable time, for on our arrival all the pilots were down the river.

the Split-rock rapids terminate, the bank of the river is well inhabited; and we could see women on shore running about much agitated. A canoe put off, and picked up three of our number, who had gained the bottom of the barge, which had upset and got rid of its cargo; these they landed on an island. The canoe put off again, and was approaching near to where I was, with two others, holding on the trunk, when, terrified with the vicinity of the Cascades, to which we were approaching, it put back, notwithstanding my exhortations, in French and English, to induce the two men on board to advance. The bad hold which one man had of the trunk, to which we were adhering, subjected him to constant immersion, and, in order to escape his seizing hold of me, I let go the trunk, and, in conjunction with another man, got hold of the boom, (which, with the gaff, sails, &c. had been detached from the mast, to make room for the cargo,) and floated off. I had just time to grasp this boom, when we were hurried into the Cascades; in these I was instantly buried, and nearly suffocated. On rising to the surface, I found one of my hands still on the boom, and my companion also adhering to the gaff. Shortly after descending the Cascades, I perceived the barge, bottom upwards, floating near me. I succeeded in getting to it, and held by a crack in one end of it; the violence of the water, and the falling out of the casks of ashes, had quite wrecked it. For a long time I contented myself with this hold, not daring to endeavour to get upon the bottom, which I at length effected; and from this, my new situation, I called out to my companion, who still preserved his hold of the gaff. He shook his head; and, when the waves suffered me to look up again, he was gone. He made no attempt to come near me, being unable or unwilling to let go his hold, and trust himself to the waves, which were then rolling over his head.

"The Cascades are a kind of fall, or rapid descent, in the river, over a rocky channel below: going down is called, by the French, 'Sauter,' to leap or shove the Cascades. For two miles below, the channel continues in uproar, just like a storm at sea; and I was

The rapids which were now before us are four in number; those of Coteau du Lac, the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades. Although

frequently nearly washed off the barge by the waves which rolled over. I now entertained no hope whatever of escaping; and although I continued to exert myself to hold on, such was the state to which I was reduced by cold, that I wished only for speedy death, and frequently thought of giving up the contest, as useless. I felt as if compressed into the size of a monkey; my hands appeared diminished in size one-half; and I certainly should (after I became very cold and much exhausted) have fallen asleep, but for the waves that were passing over me, and obliged me to attend to my situation. I had never descended the St. Lawrence before, but I knew there were more rapids a-head, perhaps another set of the Cascades; but, at all events, the La Chine rapids, whose situation I did not exactly know. I was in hourly expectation of these putting an end to me, and often fancied some points of ice extending from the shore to be the heads of foaming rapids. At one of the moments in which the succession of waves permitted me to look up, I saw at a distance a canoe with four men coming towards me, and waited in confidence to hear the sound of their paddles; but in this I was disappointed, the men, as I afterwards learned, were Indians (genuine descendants of the Tartars) who happening to fall in with one of the passenger's trunks, picked it up, and returned to shore for the purpose of pillaging it, leaving, as they since acknowledged, the man on the boat to his fate. Indeed, I am certain, I should have had more to fear from their avarice, than to hope from their humanity; and it is more than probable, that my life would have been taken to secure them in the possession of my watch and several half eagles, which I had about me.

"The accident happened at eight o'clock in the morning; in the course of some hours, as the day advanced, the sun grew warmer, the wind blew from the south, and the water became calmer. I got upon my knees, and found myself in the small lake St. Louis, about from three to five miles wide; with some difficulty, I got upon my feet, but was soon convinced, by cramps and spasms in all

varying somewhat in their individual features, they bear a general similarity, and result from the same causes—a great contraction and sudden descent in

my sinews, that I was quite incapable of swimming any distance, and I was then two miles from shore. I was now going, with wind and current to destruction; and cold, hungry, and fatigued, was obliged again to sit down in the water to rest, when an extraordinary circumstance greatly relieved me. On examining the wreck, to see if it was possible to detach any part of it to steer by, I perceived something loose, entangled in a fork of the wreck, and so carried along. This I found to be a small trunk, bottom upwards, which with some difficulty I dragged up upon the barge. After near an hour's work, in which I broke my penknife, trying to cut out the lock, I made a hole in the top, and to my great satisfaction, drew out a bottle of rum, a cold tongue, some cheese, and a bag full of bread, cakes, &c. all wet. Of these I made a seasonable, though very moderate use, and the trunk answered the purpose of a chair to sit upon, elevated above the surface of the water.

"After in vain endeavouring to steer the wreck, or direct its course to the shore, and having made every signal (with my waistcoat, &c.) in my power, to the several headlands which I had passed, I fancied I was driving into a bay, which, however, soon proved to be the termination of the lake, and the opening of the river, the current of which was carrying me rapidly along. I passed several small uninhabited islands, but the banks of the river appearing to be covered with houses, I again renewed my signals with my waistcoat and a shirt, which I took out of the trunk, hoping as the river narrowed, they might be perceived; the distance was too great. The velocity with which I was going, convinced me of my near approach to the dreadful rapids of La Chine. Night was drawing on, my destruction appeared certain, but did not disturb me very much, the idea of death had lost its novelty, and become quite familiar. Finding signals in vain, I now set up a cry or howl, such as I thought best calculated to carry to a distance, and being favoured by the wind, it did, although at above a mile distance, reach the ears of some people on shore. At last I perceived a boat rowing towards

the bed of the river, accompanied in general with numerous islands and rocks in the middle of the stream. The flood thus chafed and pent up, within

me, which being very small and white bottomed, I had for some time taken for a fowl with a white breast; and I was taken off the barge by Captain Johnstone, after being ten hours on the water. I found myself at the village of La Chine, 21 miles below where the accident happened, and having been driven by the winding of the current a much greater distance. I received no other injury than bruised knees and breast, with a slight cold; the accident took some hold of my imagination, and for seven or eight succeeding nights, in my dreams, I was engaged in the dangers of the cascades, and surrounded by drowning men.

" My escape was owing to a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, which appear almost providential. I happened to catch hold of various articles of support, and to exchange each article for another just at the right time. Nothing but the boom could have carried me down the Cascades without injury; and nothing but the barge could have saved me below them. I was also fortunate in having the whole day; had the accident happened one hour later, I should have arrived opposite the village of La Chine after dark, and of course, would have been destroyed in the rapids below, to which I was rapidly advancing. The trunk which furnished me with provisions and a resting place above the water, I have every reason to think was necessary to save my life; without it I must have passed the whole time in the water, and been exhausted with cold and hunger. When the people on shore saw our boat take the wrong channel, they predicted our destruction: the floating luggage, by supporting us for a time, enabled them to make an exertion to save us; but as it was not supposed possible to survive the passage of the Cascades, no farther exertions were thought of, nor indeed could they well have been made.

" It was at this very place that General Ambert's brigade of 300 men, coming to attack Canada were lost; the French at Montreal received the first intelligence of the invasion, by the dead bodies floating past the town. The pilot who conducted their first bat-

narrow and obstructed passages, rages through them with prodigious violence; dashing furiously over the rocks, sweeping round insulated frag-

teaux committing the same error that we did, ran for the wrong channel, and the other batteaux following close, all were involved in the same destruction. The whole party with which I was, escaped; four left the barge at the Cedar village, above the rapids, and went to Montreal by land; two more were saved by the canoe; the barge's crew all accustomed to labour, were lost; of the eight men who passed down the Cascades, none but myself escaped, or were seen again; nor indeed was it possible for any one without my extraordinary luck, and the aid of the barge, to which they must have been very close, to have escaped; the other men must have been drowned immediately on entering the cascades. The trunks, &c. to which they adhered, and the heavy great coats which they had on, very probably helped to overwhelm them; but they must have gone at all events; swimming in such a current of broken stormy waves was impossible; still I think my knowing how to swim kept me more collected, and rendered me more willing to part with one article of support to gain a better; those who could not swim would naturally cling to whatever hold they first got, and of course, many had very bad ones. The Captain passed me above the Cascades, on a sack of woollen clothes, which were doubtless soon saturated and sunk.

" The trunk which I picked up, belonged to a young man from Upper Canada, who was one of those drowned; it contained clothes, and about £70 in gold, which was restored to his friends. My own trunk contained, besides clothes, about £200 in gold and bank notes. On my arrival at La Chine, I offered a reward of 100 dollars, which induced a Canadian to go in search of it. He found it some days after, on the shore of an island on which it had been driven, and brought it to La Chine, where I happened to be at the time. I paid him his reward, and understood that above one-third of it was to be immediately applied to the purchase of a certain number of masses which he had vowed, in the event of success, previous to his setting out on the search." *Edinburgh Magazine, February*, 1819.

ments with the velocity of a whirlpool, and heaving even in the less agitated spots with a broken and fearful commotion, such as the sea presents after a tempest of contrary winds, which have successively contended for the mastery of the deep.

An inexperienced spectator would think it impossible that a vessel could venture among these rapids, without being instantly engulphed, or dashed to pieces; and I have often wondered who was the first to adventure his life in the daring experiment. In some of the channels certain destruction awaits all who enter;—how many lives were lost, ere the practicable channels were ascertained? The name of the first adventurer is for ever lost, but there is scarcely a deed of daring, in the history of our species, of which it could be said that it surpassed his.

> "Illi robur, et æs triplex
> Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
> Commisit pelago ratem
> Primus."

Some travellers have said, that the rapids are as sublime objects as the falls of Niagara. I do not think that they can be well compared with each other; but if the sublimity of an object is to be estimated by the intensity of emotion which it produces, I doubt not that many will award the palm to the rapids. We only look at the falls; but we shoot the rapids. In the one case the spectator is in perfect safety; in the other his life is staked on

the result. He is tossed on the tops of the foaming waves, and hurried with irresistible fury past rocks, and shoals, and breakers;—were a nail to start in the slender bark which carries him, or the paddle to be forced out of the hand of the pilot, in all probability his life would be the forfeit. When the traveller only looks at the rapids from the bank, he knows nothing of their grandeur, and cannot possibly put them on a footing with the falls.

From Coteau du Lac to the bottom of the Cascades is about eleven miles, and the intervening portions of smooth water do not exceed about a third of that distance. The largest interval is between Coteau du Lac and the Cedars; the others are so short that if the wind is fair, as it was to us, they scarcely afford breathing time between one struggle and the next.

Grand Isle, about four miles in length, separating the river into two principal channels, extends nearly the whole way from Coteau du Lac to the Cedars; between the bend of its upper extremity and the left hand shore is a cluster of eight or ten small islands, which greatly increases the danger of passage. A canal has been cut along the shore nearly opposite to the lowest of these isles, through which boats are taken up the river; for to stem the torrent is impossible. Some military works are erected so as to command the passage.

The pilot which we at last obtained was an active but cautious man, and showed so much dexterity in

the use of the steering oar, that I felt a great degree of confidence in being under his guidance. I could not help wondering, however, while dashing through the troubled waters, that any one should voluntarily choose so frightful a trade;—he had but just returned by land from piloting another boat, and during a great part of the year he is employed in nothing else from one week's end to another.

Our boat was soon in the midst of the terrifying waves, now borne aloft on their foaming summits, and again sinking as if we were to founder in the channel, while nothing was heard around us but the furious rushing and agitation of the irresistible torrent. We rode through the dangerous pass however without shipping any water, and passing the Point au Diable, got again into the smooth stream. We were now in the channel on the left of Grand Isle; the one on the right is less interrupted with islands, but it is much narrower, and not less difficult to navigate.

The sail was again raised, and driving gaily before the wind we in a short time gained sight of the village of the Cedars, on the left bank; so called from the trees which cover some of the islands opposite to it. Here the river reverts into a single channel, and that so narrow and so much obstructed with small islands that the commotion is again frightful. Boats coming up require to be unloaded considerably below, and dragged along close

by the shore; the cargoes are conveyed for a considerable distance by land. There are at this point two navigable channels, called the Grande Batture, and the Rapide de Bouleau; our pilot chose the former, we passed safely through, and the Cedars were soon behind us.

A short interval now succeeded, and we next approached the Split Rock, or La Buisson, where the boat was wrecked in 1810. The danger here arises not so much from islands, as from the more precipitous descent in the bed of the river, and the numerous rocks with which the channel is covered. Our pilot evinced a perfect knowledge of every dangerous spot, and avoided them all as they successively appeared. The catastrophe to which I have alluded, was occasioned principally by the boatman's having taken a wrong channel; I did not observe that in the one through which we went, the agitation was greater than at Coteau du Lac, or the Cedars. By the side of this rapid, cuts have been made through two points of land, to aid boats in ascending the stream. The Cascades were now before us, and with them terminates the impeded navigation till we pass the village of La Chine, about twenty two miles below.

At the Cascades is the narrowest strait in the whole river, and immediately below it the ample tide of the Ottawa, rolling downwards from the north, forms a junction with the St. Lawrence. A point of land projects between the two streams,

across which is another canal, 500 yards long, with locks at both ends. Between the promontory and the right bank of the St. Lawrence is a small island[1], nearly in the gorge of the strait; and below it is a larger one exactly opposite the end of the promontory, called the Isle des Cascades, on both sides of which the rapids descend.

The fall of the channel at the Cascades is, as the name imports, much more precipitous than at any of the former points, and the velocity of the current proportionably increased. Besides the islands which have been mentioned, there are many dangerous rocks; and where the channel is of a softer texture the water has scooped out several yawning cavities, from which the waves regurgitate with prodigious violence, and with an appearance altogether peculiar and terrifying. To avoid the numerous perils which threaten here, the skill of the pilot is tasked to the utmost. He cautiously directs the vessel between the islands and the shore, shunning a rock on this side and a gulph on the opposite—

"Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis!"

watchful at the same time lest the foaming breakers should upset or overwhelm his fragile bark.

All the tumult and danger was at length past,

[1] It was on this island that the three individuals were landed, who were picked off the wreck, before it had drifted into the Cascades.

and our pilot consigned the steering oar to the captain's hand. Below the Isle des Cascades a canoe was in waiting, into which he stepped, and left us to pursue our course through lake St. Louis. The wind continued perfectly fair, and as nothing now impeded our course the sail was stretched out to its full extent, and we swept along like a bird upon the wing.

Towards the lower end of the lake and close by the right shore is Nun's Island, about a mile in length, behind which is the mouth of the river Chateauguay, and on the bank a village of the same name. Our captain drew in to the village, to procure a pilot for the La Chine rapids, and making the circuit of the island returned into the wider channel.

Passengers by the boats generally leave them at La Chine, nine miles from Montreal, and travel the rest of the way by land; but I had now overcome my fear of the rapids, and resolved to remain on board. On reaching however a village of the Caughnawaga Indians, opposite to La Chine, the pilot thought it too late to attempt the rapids that evening; the principal danger here arises from their shallowness, and he very prudently determined to have day light for the passage. As there is no inn among the Indians, nor any possibility of sleeping on board, I had of course no choice, but left the vessel and crossing the river in a wooden canoe, paddled by three Indian boys, took up my

quarters at La Chine in a very comfortable inn kept by a countryman.

La Chine is the mustering place of batteaux going up the river, and goods to be conveyed in them are transported by land from Montreal. It is also the depot for the canoes employed in the fur trade; I saw several new ones, about to start for the remote regions of the distant lakes. These singular vessels are about thirty feet long, and four wide at the centre; the bottom is round, without any keel, and each end tapers to a curved point.

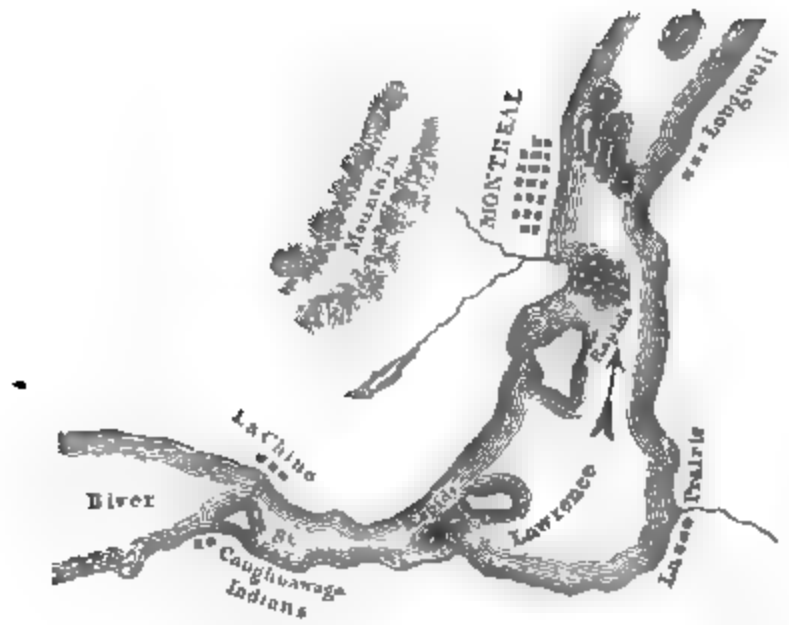
It is worthy of notice, that European ingenuity has not superadded the slightest improvement, to the Indian mode of building canoes; and they are found to be by far the best kind of boats, for the peculiar navigation in which they are used. They are composed entirely of the bark of the birch tree, sewed upon a very slender frame-work of wood, and made water-tight by a coating of pitch or gum upon the seams. No iron, not even a nail, is employed in their construction. Each canoe carries from eight to ten men, besides the provisions and cargo, which are estimated at about five tons; yet they are so light that occasionally two men, and at all times four, can carry them across the portages, that is, the the ground between one navigable stream and another. The toils and privations of a life so spent must be very great; yet the Canadians in this neighbourhood prefer it to every other, and the villages are so filled with the families of voyageurs, that in

the summer months there are scarcely any inhabitants to be found in them but women and children.

I started the following morning in a calash for Montreal. The calash resembles very much an old-fashioned gig, though in general built with a greater degree of strength. It holds two persons, besides the driver, who sits on front upon a kind of box rising from the foot board, and with his feet upon the spokes cheers on his little gray dumple with an incessant, *marche donc ! marche donc !*

The fields which I passed on the road to Montreal, betokened that their cultivators had brought their ideas of farming from a European school. Neither stumps nor worm fences were to be seen, but straight enclosures of boards, surrounding ridges and furrows of the utmost neatness and accuracy. The cottages by the road side were in general of wood, but very neatly constructed; the ends of the logs carefully dovetailed into each other, and the exterior surface planed and white washed. By and by the close succession of dwellings of dark coloured stone, with bright tin roofs, announced the suburbs of Montreal, and very soon 'Rue Notre Dame,' painted upon the corner of a house, indicated that I was within the city. On going to the river side I found that the Durham boat, with my trunk on board, had arrived in safety before me.

LETTER XVI.


MONTREAL
Mountain
Longueil
Rapids
La Chine
River
St.
Caughnawaga
Indians
Lawrence
Lake
Prairie

LETTER XVI.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF MONTREAL—STREETS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS — MONUMENT TO NELSON — INHABITANTS —CAUGHNAWAGA INDIANS — MERCHANTS—COMMERCIAL CHARACTER — ROMISH RELIGION—NUNNERIES— COLLEGES — WANT OF AN ENGLISH ONE—FRENCH CHURCH—BAPTISM OF BELLS—ALL SAINTS' DAY—SEIGNIORIAL RIGHTS OF THE CLERGY—SOCIETY IN MONTREAL.

Montreal, November, 1818.

I HAVE got once more into a stone-built town; constructed with even more compactness, and apparently more stability, than my native city. It is obvious that the founders of Montreal, must have brought their ideas of city comfort from the old world, for it presents a great contrast to the system which prevails in the United States. Here are no clap-boarded houses, as gay as the plane and the paint-brush can make them, but so perishable that the snuffing of a candle may be their ruin—no neat brick tenements, lintelled with marble, and glowing with vermillion and varnish—no wide avenue-like streets, skirted with forest trees, and parcelled out here and there into grass plots or gardens;—all this has been left on the republican side of the St. Lawrence, and nothing seems to have entered into

the elements of Montreal but stone, iron, and tin; put together with as much regard to economy of space, as if the Indian occupants of the ground had sold it to the first settlers by the square inch.

Montreal[1] is built upon an island, of the same name, about thirty-two miles in length; which, with two or three others of inferior dimensions, is embraced by the united streams of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, immediately below their junction. The city and its suburbs extend for nearly two miles, along the northern, or rather the western bank of the St. Lawrence; for the course of the river takes a bend here, and runs very nearly from south to north. From the opposite bank the town has a showy appearance, and in summer the circumjacent scenery is exceedingly beautiful. Behind and to the left of the city rises the Mountain, from which it originally took its name; not a conical eminence, but a swelling semicircular ridge, with its concave surface towards the stream, and placed like a rampart behind the city to shield

[1] A copious and very accurate "Topographical Description of Canada," accompanied by very large and beautifully executed maps, has been published by Col. Bouchette, a native of the country, and Surveyor-General of the lower province. This work is most honourable to the accuracy, industry, and taste, of the author, and has been my authority in some of the more minute matters of topographical detail. Col. Bouchette's politics are of rather an ardent temperament, leading him sometimes to remarks upon his republican neighbours, more severe than just; he could scarcely however have been a true Canadian without this.

it in winter from the unkindly blast. A dense forest covers the greater part of the hill, except where space has been cleared for a few neatly built mansion houses, whose bright tin roofs glitter in the sunbeams. Behind one of the most remote of these, a monumental column rises from among the trees. Between the bottom of the eminence and the spires of the city, a thin blue smoke ascends from part of the suburbs which the sinking of the ground conceals from view. In front of its dark coloured outline are the tall masts of merchantmen from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde; huge steam boats with double chimneys; river craft of all sizes; and enormous rafts of timber. In the middle of the stream reposes the island of St. Helena, encircled by a groupe of smaller ones; while the unceasing sound of a small rapid which surrounds them falls gently on the ear. To the right and left rolls the majestic flood of the St. Lawrence, about two miles in width, and although yet five hundred miles from the ocean, capable of floating on its surface vessels of six or seven hundred tons burden.

The city, unfortunately, does not gain much upon you by a nearer inspection. The streets are for the greater part most inconveniently narrow, and the foot-walks in many places incumbered with cellar doors and other projections. The dark coloured limestone of which the houses are built, has a dull effect, and the massive iron shutters, folded back from almost every window and door, con-

siderably increase the gloom. The bright tin which covers the spires and roofs, has decided utility to recommend it, but in warm sunshine its reflection is painful to the eyes, and at all times it has an air of flaunting vulgarity. Blue slate harmonizes much more agreeably with the azure of the sky, but it will not stand, as I have been told, the intense cold which prevails in winter. The tin is put on in rows, not parallel, but obliquely to the eaves of the house, the nails which fasten it are carefully overlapped, and no where is the slightest degree of rust to be seen.

Between the older part of the city and the mountain, some wider streets have been laid out, which will greatly improve the general features of Montreal; and I have been astonished to observe on my second visit, the great number of buildings which have started up, in various directions, since the period of my first. The town is obviously increasing with rapidity, and a number of very splendid mansions have lately been erected on the slope of the mountain, which would be regarded as magnificent residences, even by the wealthy merchants of the mother country.

Notre Dame street, the best in the older part of the town lies nearly parallel to the river, and is about three quarters of a mile in length. It is however, unfortunately broken into two separate portions by the principal French church, which like St. George's in Glasgow, has been awkwardly set

down in the very centre of the street. In making a turn round this church the street widens into a small square called the Place d' Armes;—which I feel myself the more bound to commemorate, because the residence of a family who have treated me with a degree of kindness and attention, of which I shall cherish a very grateful recollection.

Montreal possesses a few public buildings, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; the neatest of which, for none of them can be called elegant, are the new Court House and the jail. Behind the Court House is the Champ de Mars; a very level piece of ground of considerable extent, which is a favourite promenade in the summer evenings, and the principal scene of military displays. Opposite to the jail is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson, consisting of a Doric column, springing from a square pedestal and surmounted with a statue of the Admiral. Upon the four sides of the pedestal are basso relievo representations of his principal achievements, surrounded with inscriptions and allegorical figures. The column is of stone, the statue and bas reliefs of composition. It stands at the top of a pretty steep street at right angles to the river; his Lordship looks towards the river, because the best view of the monument is obtained from the bottom of the declivity, but it unfortunately happens that the principal street of the city passes behind him, and he has consequently turned his back upon it and all that it contains.

LETTER XVI.

Of the merchants of Montreal I believe the greater proportion are Scotsmen, and not a few are from our native city. A few Englishmen mingle with them, and there are also a considerable number of Americans, from the New England States, who are distinguished by the characteristic shrewdness and perseverance, which have made the natives of that part of the Union so noted throughout the rest of the country. So far as I have been able to discover, the utmost harmony prevails between them and those who are by birth subjects of our sovereign. I dined in a gentleman's house who has thus become voluntarily subject to the laws of our native country; he said that he could not discover that his liberty had been at all abridged by the change.

In the commercial character of Montreal, and of Canada in general, I am disposed to think that there is more of the spirit of individual adventure prevalent, than of mutual co-operation. Until the spring of the present year there was not a banking establishment in the city,[3] notwithstanding the great amount of the foreign and internal commerce. In the United States scarcely has an infant settlement numbered a hundered houses, till a corporation for

[3] An attempt was made several years ago to establish a bank, but the notes, probably from want of confidence, could not be kept in circulation, and the project was speedily abandoned. The want of education among the Canadians is a great obstacle to the general adoption of a paper currency, and as an expedient to assist those who

the manufacture at least of bank notes, if it be nothing more, is immediately set on foot. This is doubtless a precocity of commercial enterprize, but it marks an elasticity of character in the people among whom it appears. That the commercial capital of Canada, on the other hand, with a population of about twenty thousand, and a trade employing annually about 150,000 tons of shipping, should till within these few months have wanted the assistance of such an institution in its money transactions, can only have arisen from a decided difference in the character of its merchants, and a palpable inferiority in them as to enterprize and public spirit.

After all, report says that neither of the two banks, which have come almost simultaneously into operation, would yet have existed, but for the speculating propensities of *Yankees*, some of whom do not even reside in the country. However this may be, their mode of doing business shows, that there is among the partners a considerable degree of timidity as to the success of the speculation, and perhaps some portion of hesitation as to each other's stability. The notes of one of the banks promise, that the specified amount shall be paid "out of the joint funds of the association, and no other;"—a clause

cannot read, one of the new companies has exhibited a row of dollars upon the margin of each of their notes, corresponding in number to its amount. The natives however retain a strong partiality for *l'argent sonant*, in the value of which nobody can cheat them.

which is obviously intended to free the individual stockholders, of all responsibility beyond the amount which each has invested. Some doubt prevails as to the validity of such a stipulation, but whether valid or not, it is certain that no private banking company in Britain would be able to keep such notes in circulation for a single hour. Another singular feature in these establishments is their mode of managing discounts of bills. The directors are the principal merchants of the city, who preside by rotation in the management of the affairs; one is director for this week, another for the next, and the succession is regularly notified in the newspapers. The natural consequence of this must certainly be, that the individual exercising the 'little brief authority,' will naturally be inclined to attend to his own interest, and that of his friends, in the discounts of the week, in preference to all others; and thus the affairs of the company, even although honestly administered, must be subject to perpetual vacillation and uncertainty.

The same deficiency of enterprize is observable in the interrupted state of the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Were a canal cut from Montreal to La Chine, a distance of only nine miles, those troublesome rapids which intervene would be avoided, and the necessity superseded which at present exists of transporting so far, by land, all the merchandise which goes up the country. Such a canal has been talked of for about twenty years, and some

time ago £25,000 was voted for it, by the provincial legislature. Farther than this it has not yet advanced. In the mean time these fidgetty Yankees, are pushing vigorously forward their canal of 364 miles between lake Erie and the Hudson, and the other of 60, between the Hudson and lake Champlain; and possibly when they have the whole finished, they may take a fancy to cross the St. Lawrence, and in a mere frolic turn up the nine miles between Montreal and La Chine;—it will hardly be a fortnight's work for them.

I must in justice add, however, that some symptoms begin to appear of an improvement in the energy and public spirit of the province. A Fire Insurance Company has come recently into operation, which will retain within the country, a considerable part of the large sum which has hitherto been annually drawn from it by a London company. Some societies for the encouragement of agriculture have also been formed; and we may hope that they will gradually persuade the Canadians not to yoke their oxen by the horns, nor to throw the manure produced by their stable and cowhouse, into the river, as are still practised to a very considerable extent.

The ecclesiastical character of Montreal, as a town pervaded to a great degree by the influence of the church of Rome, naturally excites curiosity as to the various institutions, more or less immediately connected with the support of that system.

Among those which I have seen are two of the nunneries, to which I was conducted by a gentleman of the town. We first called at the convent of the Gray Sisters, containing a *Mère Superieure* and twenty four nuns. This was originally intended as a general hospital for the diseased poor, but is now principally devoted to the care of foundlings, old invalids, and the insane. The nuns whom we saw had none of that sentimental kind of aspect, which readers of ancient ballad and romance are prone to associate with the name; they were plain homely women, rather declining into the vale of years, and excepting that they were somewhat fantastically dressed, might have passed very well for the nurses of a British infirmary. They wore a worsted gown of a light drab colour, with wide turned up sleeves; a close black hood trimmed with crape, over a linen cap of which only the edge could be seen; on their shoulders a kind of tippet, of starched linen, over which hung a small silver crucifix; and to complete the garniture, most of them added a striped blue cotton apron.

In two of the rooms we saw a flock of little chubby children, the very pictures of good health; with the neat little cribs in which they sleep, and various other common places of the nursery;—there seems, by the way, to be no lack of foundlings in Montreal. It was pleasant to remark the interest which the nuns took in their young wards; they patted them on the cheek, spoke with much

feeling of their abandonment by their parents, and looked at them with a degree of kindly sympathy which might almost have made one think that a mother's emotions were stirring at their hearts. In another room appropriated to older invalids, into which we merely peeped, a nun was reading prayers to some of the inmates; and one of them, a man who had a wooden leg lying beside him, having observed us, he buckled it hastily on, and hobbling to the door asked us in English whether we wanted to see the establishment? We requested to be conducted to the chapel, to which he immediately led the way. At one end was a very gaudy altar with the usual decorations, and in a recess on the one side another dedicated *to the heart of the Saviour!* Above it was a painting of a human heart, encircled with thorns, and pierced with nails; on all the candlesticks, and other furniture of the altar, the same emblem frequently appeared. Beside the altar hung a framed sheet of paper, inscribed with prayers, among which I read "Cœur de notre Seigneur priez pour nous!" From two nuns, who were busily employed dusting the ornaments with a bunch of feathers, I purchased two trifling articles of their own handiwork, as some acknowledgment of the attention which we had received; and declining to visit the ward for the insane, of whom we understood that there were six, we took our leave. Before quitting the ground, we took an opportunity of asking our lame guide whether he was a convert

to the religion of the place? He said that he had been a soldier in his youth, and found the convent a very snug resting place in his old age, and not the less so thathe conformed to the religious opinions of those who ministered so materially to his personal comfort.

From the 'Sœurs Gris,' we went to the convent of 'La Congregation de Notre Dame,' consisting of a Superieure and sixty sisters. They are called Black Nuns, in consequence of wearing a black dress, which varies a little in shape as well as colour, from that which we had already seen. This establishment is devoted entirely to the education of girls. We were conducted first into a room where a good many nuns were assembled; after a very polite reception, so far as bowing and smiling went, a number of them began to overwhelm me with questions in French, but I could scarcely muster enough of the language to frame to all of them adequate replies. We were then conducted into two or three different rooms, where we saw rows of young girls employed at various branches of education. Some were sewing and embroidering; others reading; and one I observed with a multiplication table in her hand. Understanding that I was a Scotsman, the nuns pointed out some Scotish girls to my notice; they informed me that their parents, who were Catholics, had emigrated from the Highlands of Scotland to the Glengary settlement in Upper Canada. On taking leave, we

thanked the sisters for their politeness, they thanked us 'for the honour of our call,' and we parted on good terms. There is a third convent called the 'Hôtel Dieu,' conducted by a Superieure and thirty-six nuns, for the reception of the sick and diseased poor, but it I did not visit.

It would show very little candour, to make such institutions as these the subjects of unqualified reprobation. Females who devote their lives to the care of helpless infancy, debilitated old age, and the unfortunate subjects of mental alienation, are neither idly nor uselessly employed. Some of them, I doubt not, are actuated by the spirit of the good Samaritan, and enjoy the sincerest gratification in being able to alleviate the sorrows of a suffering fellow-creature. Nor can we pass by without commendation, the labours of those who are instructing the young of their own sex, in the elements of reading and arithmetic, and the useful arts of domestic life. We must distinguish however between the secular and the religious characteristics of such establishments; and while we readily concede our respect for the one, we cannot but accompany it with our thorough disapprobation of the other. God can never approve of vows, which, either in man or woman, are nothing else than a deliberate determination, sanctioned by an oath, to oppose the appointments of his all-wise administration;—to regard such infatuated self-devotion as a meritorious claim for the enjoyment

of future blessedness, is one of those awful delusions which could only have been devised by him 'who was a deceiver from the beginning.' All the advantages of these institutions might be attained without the existence of such a bond of servitude; and the temporal good, of which nuns and monks may be in some cases productive, can never be any reparation, or even apology, for the more permanent mischief with which it is necessarily connected.

There are now no monasteries in Canada. A large building, formerly occupied by the 'Recollets,' is now converted into a barrack. When the British became masters here, any addition to the number of monks was prohibited; and the various establishments of this kind became gradually extinct.

It is apparent to every visitor, that no physical restraint is placed upon the inmates of the convents. The doors and the windows are all open, and the buildings, for the most part, form three sides of an open court, through which they all walk in passing from one part of the establishment to another. That there is however a moral restraint, and that of a very powerful kind, admits not of a doubt. To forsake a nunnery after having taken the vows, is an abomination of the deepest dye; and were a poor creature to meditate such a step, to whom could she flee for shelter? Her parents would shut their doors against her;

her relations would regard her as worse than a heretic; her priest would fulminate his anathemas against her; and her name would be 'cast out as evil.' An alien from society, branded with infamy and reproach, she might seek for pity, but there is too much reason to fear that she would find none.

There are two academical institutions in Montreal, both connected with the Romish church. 'The Seminary,' founded in 1657, and the 'New College.' The course of education is said to be very complete, extending from the most elementary departments of learning, to some of the most abstruse branches of philosophy and mathematics. The French language is the medium of communication. The number of students at these seminaries is said to be between two and three hundred; and the dress is to be seen upon boys of tender years, as well as upon men of pretty mature age. The education which is afforded is not exclusively with a view to ecclesiastical purposes; but the two seminaries, with one of a similar kind at Quebec, are the only sources from which a supply of clergymen for the Romish church is provided.

These academies, although in many respects useful, tend grievously to perpetuate the French language and Romish religion in the province, and consequently to prevent the thorough amalgamation of its French inhabitants, with those of British descent. There could scarcely be a wiser legislative measure than the establishment of an English

college, on a liberal scale and unrestricted system. A gentleman of the name of M'Gill, who died in 1814, bequeathed £10,000, and some heritable property, to be devoted to the foundation of such an establishment; hitherto however little, if any thing, has been done to carry his will into effect, and as the property if not so appropriated within ten years after his death, reverts to his heirs, I fear that there is some danger of the devise being ultimately abortive.

The principal French church is open throughout the whole week, from an early hour till late in the evening; and a number of Canadians may at all times be seen, kneeling and muttering prayers before the altars, of which there are four or five. Around the sides of the church are several confessionals, where you see others upon their knees whispering through a grating, behind which the priest is seated.

The external appearance of this church is exceedingly plain. The roof and spire are covered with tin; and a cypher formed by a union of the letters A and M, appears on various places, which is to be interpreted 'Ave Maria.' The interior is gaudy and glittering in the extreme, and around the walls are several pictures, a few of which are apparently of considerable merit. The church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, of whom a pretty large statue occupies a recess immediately above the principal altar. Encircling this altar are four

fluted Corinthian columns, supporting a semi-circular frieze and cornice, from which springs a scroll work, terminated by a large French crown; the whole glowing in bright green and gold. Upon the altar are as usual a crucifix, large candlesticks, and bouquets of artificial flowers; before it, suspended from the roof, is a small oil lamp, which is kept perpetually burning. On both sides of the elevated platform on which the altar stands, are seats for some of the higher orders of the clergy. On the left side, considerably elevated, is a huge crucifix of barbarous workmanship.

I have frequently stepped into this church to see what was going forward. One day lately I learned that two new bells were to be placed in the steeple, and that preparatory to this they were to be baptized! This was a sight not to be missed, and I accordingly took care to be in the church at the hour appointed. The bells were suspended near the centre of the church, from a temporary wooden erection, and near them were a table and some chairs. Soon after we had assembled, a door near the upper end of the church was thrown open, and forth issued a procession of priests, preceded by two boys in white robes carrying a pair of enormous candles, in candlesticks of corresponding dimensions, and two behind carrying a little silver vessel of oil, and water in a silver vase. The priests were variously attired, some in black, others in white, and a few in gorgeous robes of silk and gold.

The boys placed the candlesticks on the table near the bells, and the priests bestowed themselves in the chairs around the table, or on the seats which surrounded the principal altar; prayers were then chanted, after which an old ecclesiastic in white ascended the pulpit, and addressed the congregation in a pretty long French oration. My knowledge of the language was too limited to admit of my fully understanding the old gentleman's address, but I was informed by those who did, that it was intended to impress the minds of his auditors with the solemnity of the approaching ceremony; and I doubt not that he thought we much needed some such admonition, for the aspect of the congregation was by no means very devout. There was a great crowd present, and with many, as with myself, curiosity seemed to be the most active principle, for they scrambled upon the tops of the pews, and pushed one another so tumultuously, that the old priest twice stopped his address to rebuke us, and on one occasion clapped his hands very angrily, and threatened to suspend the ceremony. I must in justice add, that a great number of the auditors were not Canadians.

Descending from the rostrum, he was invested with a robe of gaudier colours, and having pronounced a solemn benediction upon the water in the vase, he dipped a brush in it and made the sign of the cross upon each bell, inside and out; accompanying it with the solemn words, "In nomine

Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti!" Other two then set to work, and completed what he had begun, brushing the bells all over; and then with snow-white towels wiping them both dry. Some oil was then consecrated, with which the sign of the cross was made on a variety of places on each bell, and then carefully wiped dry with a little cotton wool. A silver censer with live coals was next produced, into which some incense was thrown; and after being waved three times in the air, it was held under each bell till they were quite filled with the odorous fumes.

Two old gentlemen and their venerable spouses now came forward, and one pair was stationed at each bell. These were the Godfathers and Godmothers of the new members of the holy church; and after having answered some questions to the satisfaction of the priests, they had the honour of bestowing names on their Godchildren. This, it seems, is an honour which is much coveted, and is only conceded to those who are both able and willing to pay handsomely for the distinction. The oldest priest now took hold of the clapper, and tolled each bell three times, which was immediately repeated by each of the sponsors. The old couples now produced presents for their bantlings; first a large roll of linen for each bell, which was swathed round it by the officiating priests; then rolls of crimson silk, one of which was richly figured, succeeded by lace or fringes, and

the whole was bound on by a plentiful allowance of white silk riband. The ceremony was now wound up by a short prayer or two chanted by the priests, when the large candlesticks were again elevated, and the whole fraternity retired as they had entered.

Popery has fallen so much into the back ground, in our native country, that many are probably not aware of the existence of such a ceremony; it is however regularly performed to all church bells in Popish countries, before they take their stations in the belfry, and without it they would be considered as quite unqualified to fulfil the high functions which devolve upon them; one of the most important of which is the ringing of souls out of purgatory. All-Saints' day, as it is called, came round during my present visit, when the bells had their hands full of work. In the afternoon of that day, all may ring who please, and the poor ignorant people are taught to believe that their pulling lustily will materially benefit the souls of deceased friends who are undergoing lustration. I stepped into the church in the evening, after the public services were over; there was no light except from the glimmering of the small oil lamp before the altar, but it served to show a number of Canadians on their knees, and a coffin near the entrance, elevated upon a grim scaffold, garnished like our hearses with sculls and crossed bones. This was intended as a symbol of the departed

state, to aid dull imaginations and stimulate devotional feelings. Next day, and for several succeeding ones, a board was suspended on the door of another church, inscribed, 'Indulgence plenière pour les Morts,' and I was informed that whoever during these days, confessed to a priest, should have forty days remission after death of the pains of purgatory.

I have seen no Popish processions except a funeral; I missed by a few days the grand ceremony of the 'Fête Dieu,' which is annually celebrated with great splendour.

The Romish clergy are the *seigneurs*, or superiors, of the whole of the island of Montreal; and on every purchase, or alienation of landed property, a twelfth part of the amount of the purchase money is exigible by them. Usage allows a deduction of a fourth of this for prompt payment, and it is reported that protestant proprietors frequently exact from the priests a considerably larger discount. The ecclesiastics indeed are generally said to be very moderate in enforcing their legal rights, and so far as I have heard they live on very friendly terms with their protestant vassals.

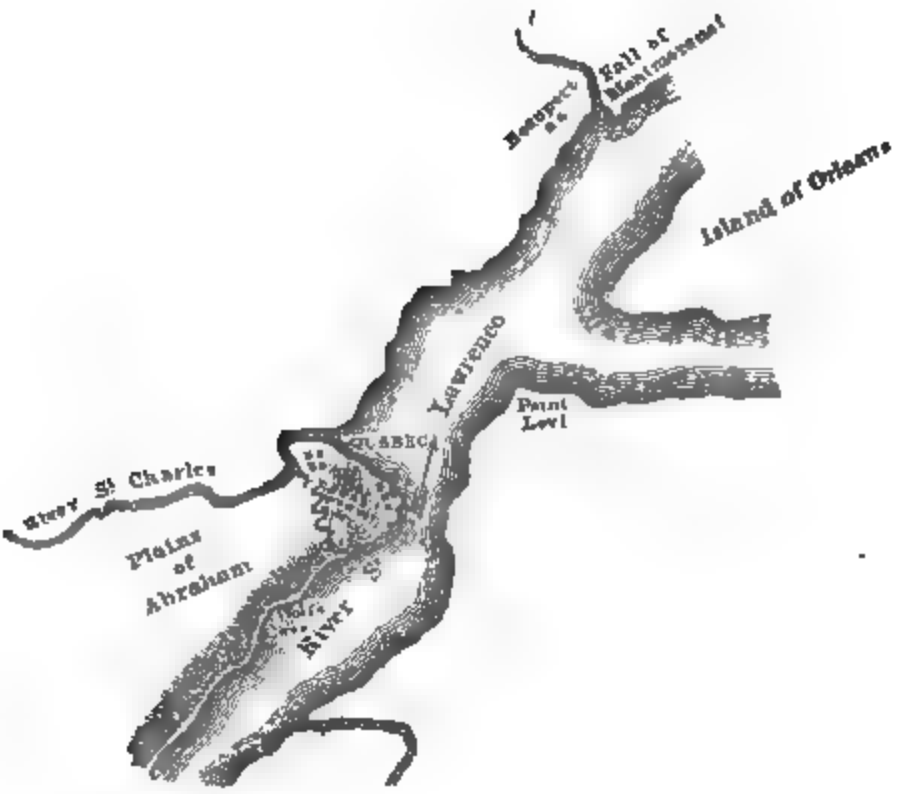
There are four protestant places of worship in Montreal; but I shall delay farther reference to them, till I can include those of Quebec.

As to the society of Montreal and the style of living which prevails, strangers are very likely to differ somewhat in their opinions. If you enjoy good eating, card playing, dancing, music, and

gayety, you will find abundance of all. If literary society is your choice, you will discover I am afraid but little; and if religious, still less. I was particularly struck with the extent to which card-playing and the dice-box abound; they seem indeed to be almost the only resource in an evening party, if it is not professedly a dancing one. That the citizens of Montreal are hospitable and kind in their attention to a stranger, I bear my willing and most grateful testimony; but unless the traveller is prepared to enjoy such expedients for recreation, he must lay his account with being occasionally somewhat singular in company.

The literature of the city may be estimated by the fact, that there is at present but one book shop in it, whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability; a few others are to be found with Romish prayer books, and monkish legends, but their shelves can boast of little else except a few articles of stationary. We cannot expect that the demand for books here can be at all equal to that at home, or even in the United States; among the great majority of the Canadians, none but a few of the females are able to read. And of the British residents the greater part are eagerly intent upon the acquisition of wealth, and in general anticipate a return to their native country to spend it; and if in their hours of intermission from other pursuits, they can glance at a novel, or a fashionable poem, it is all that in most cases is attempted.

LETTER XVII.


Falls of Montmorenci
Island of Orleans
Lawrence
Point Levi
River St Charles
Plains of Abraham
River

LETTER XVII.

ST. LAWRENCE—STEAM BOATS—SORELL—LAKE ST. PETER—THREE RIVERS—RICHELIEU RAPID—RIVER JACQUES CARTIER—CAPE ROUGE—RIVER CHAUDIERE—PLAINS OF ABRAHAM—WOLFE'S COVE—QUEBEC—LOWER TOWN—UPPER TOWN—STREETS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS—LEGISLATIVE BODIES—URSULINE CONVENT—BEAUPORT—FALL OF MONTMORENCI—SAW-MILL—WINTER VISIT TO A NEW SETTLEMENT IN THE WOODS—HARDSHIPS OF EMIGRANTS—FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC—RELIGION IN CANADA—SERMONS.

Quebec, November, 1818.

FROM Montreal to Quebec the distance is 180 miles, and till within these few years the customary mode of travelling was by calashes, along the bank of the river, where there was a regular establishment of post houses under government regulation. There are now several steam boats of a very large size employed between the two cities, and I have made two passages in the 'Car of Commerce,' one of the most modern and most elegant.[1] The fare

[1] The Car of Commerce measures about 600 tons, and yet has only one engine of about 60 horse power. Her shortest passage down the river was performed in 16¼ hours including stoppages, her shortest up in 28. On one occasion she took up 1360 emigrants from Quebec to Montreal; the fare paid by each was two dollars, making in all £612 sterling for a single trip. It is said that three births took place on board, between the one port and the other.

including provisions is 10 dollars, £2, 5s. sterling, down the river, and 12 dollars, £2, 14s. sterling, up; the difference is occasioned by the increased length of time which it usually requires to stem the current.

The steam boats on the St. Lawrence convey goods as well as passengers, and it is probable that they will soon supersede almost entirely the arrival of square rigged vessels at Montreal. There are some strong rapids between the two cities, and the passage must always be uncertain, and often tedious, to vessels that are entirely dependent on the force of the wind; it has even on some occasions been known to consume more time than the crossing of the Atlantic. It is now becoming common for vessels from Britain to discharge their cargoes into a steam boat at Quebec, by which they are brought up to Montreal in two or three days.

The banks of the river below Montreal are flat and uninteresting; a little village appears here and there with its tin-covered steeple, but in general the white-washed houses of the *habitans* are scattered individually at pretty regular intervals along the shore.

About forty-five miles below Montreal, on the right, the river Sorell flows into the St. Lawrence, and upon its eastern shore is the town of William Henry, formerly called Sorell. Here our steam boat stopped to receive a supply of fire-wood. The town is a dull looking place, built principally of wood, and originally peopled by loyalists who left

the United States at the revolution, and by a few disbanded soldiers.

The Sorell is the outlet of lake Champlain, and were it possible to render it navigable by vessels of considerable size, it would afford a most convenient means of commercial intercourse with the interior of the State of New York, and form a direct chain of communication with the great western canals. For the present, however, it is only passed by small open boats and rafts of timber; rapids and shallows begin within fourteen miles of its mouth, and continue with little intermission to the village of St. John's near lake Champlain. It is remarkable that the Sorell, unlike most rivers, contracts very considerably as it approaches its outlet. At St. John's the channel is more than 500 yards wide, which gradually diminishes towards the basin of Chambly, and after issuing from it, the average width is not more than 250 yards.

Immediately below William Henry, a whole archipelago of islands are scattered in the stream, dividing the river into a multitude of channels. Issuing from among them we enter lake St. Peter, one of those expansions which are so common in American rivers. This one is about twenty miles long, and from seven to ten broad. Extensive shallows run along both shores, and contribute very much to preserve that smoothness on the surface which harmonizes with our usual ideas of a lake.

About ten miles below its termination we reach

the town of Three Rivers, upon the left hand bank, at the mouth of the river St. Maurice, and receiving its name from the triple channel which is formed by two small islands at the confluence of its waters with the St. Lawrence. This town is about 96 miles from Quebec, and of course very nearly half way between it and Montreal. It ranks as the third town in Lower Canada, but is comparatively of small extent, containing only between two and three thousand inhabitants. From an iron foundry at Three Rivers excellent castings are produced; and I was surprised to hear at Montreal, that the stoves which are manufactured here, are thought to endure the heat better than those cast at Carron. I had no opportunity of landing, but the aspect of the town from the water is drowsy and inactive; without any of that bustle and animation which characterize the little towns upon the Hudson. It is impossible indeed not to remark, that the banks of the two rivers are peopled by an essentially different race of men;—the one of habits altogether hereditary and monotonous, content to pace along in the footsteps of their forefathers; the other restless and adventurous almost to a proverb, buying and selling, shipping and importing, settling and emigrating, as if quicksilver instead of blood were dancing through their veins.

About forty miles below Three Rivers, the channel contracts rather suddenly into less than a half of its average width, and produces a rapid of consid-

erable extent, called the Richelieu. Although the velocity of the current is materially increased, the agitation of the water is very trifling when compared with that of the rapids between Prescott and Montreal. Numerous rocks, however, increase the difficulties of the navigation, and the steam boats seldom attempt the passage except in day light.[2]

A few miles below the Richelieu rapid, we pass on the left the mouth of the river Jacques Cartier, so called after the name of the first European who explored the navigation of the St. Lawrence; he laid up his vessels at the mouth of this stream during the winter of 1536. The Jacques Cartier is a mountain torrent, dashing from rock to rock with such unvarying impetuosity, that it is only on detached portions here and there that even a canoe can venture on it. The banks are in general rugged and precipitous; and so impracticable in many places, that the French after losing Quebec, in 1759, chose its western bank as a favourable position for making a final stand against their conquerors.

The left bank of the St. Lawrence begins gradually to rise soon after passing Three Rivers, and within a few miles of Quebec they become on both sides lofty and precipitous. About seven miles

[2] The Car of Commerce was twice unfortunate in this neighbourhood, while I was on board. In the passage up the river in June, she ran down a schooner in the night time, loaded with grain, in which a woman was lost; and going down in November, the Captain fell down a hatchway during the night, and had an arm broken.

above Quebec we pass the commencement of Cape Rouge on the left, so called from the reddish colour of its rocky brow; and a mile below, on the right, the mouth of the river Chaudiere, where in the summer season vessels are almost always to be seen taking in cargoes of timber.

Quebec now comes partially into view, occupying the extremity of the promontory upon our left; its fortifications fringing the edge of the rocky cliff, 340 feet above the bed of the river.

To understand correctly the position of Quebec, you must keep in mind what has been stated as to the gradually increased elevation of the left bank of the St. Lawrence. Though rocky and precipitous, however, towards the river, the summit of the right hand bank is remarkably flat, for several miles above Quebec; and upon this elevated table land are the far-famed plains of Abraham, where Montcalm and Wolfe both breathed their last. The highest part of these plains is close by the bank of the St. Lawrence; from which the ground inclines with a gentle slope, and afterwards a more precipitous descent, towards the bank of another river called the St. Charles. The St. Charles comes down from the northern hills, and flows for a time nearly at right angles to the St. Lawrence; it then makes a pretty abrupt bend towards the east, and gradually inclines downward, till the two streams unite before the rocky cape upon which Quebec stands. The city is thus surrounded with water on all but one side.

Except on the side adjoining to the plains, the position of Quebec is so strong, that the city has scarcely any need of fortification. The bare rock upon whose semicircular verge it stands, is in general perfectly precipitous, and so high that escalade is totally impracticable. In other places the approaches are so steep and difficult, that it may almost be said of each,

> "A single man might hold the post
> With hardihood against a host."

A few batteries and other defences complete the security of these; but on the land side, nature has done nothing for its safety, and there the fortifications are elaborate and stupendous.

Wolfe landed his troops at a little indentation of the bank, rather more than a mile above the city, now known by the name of Wolfe's cove. Here, about an hour after midnight, the troops scrambled up the woody brow of the hill; by a narrow path which even now, and in good day light, would seem to present sufficient difficulties to a pretty zealous mineralogist. Having succeeded in gaining the heights he formed his troops, and awaited the attack of Montcalm, who collected his forces, and marched against him about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The result is memorable—both the commanders fell, the French were defeated, and on the sixth day after, Quebec capitulated.

The appearance of Quebec, as you approach it

by the steam boat, is very imposing. The banks for some little distance above Wolfe's cove are covered with brushwood, and on the beach below white houses are scattered at short intervals. The fortifications of the city come gradually into prospect;—first are seen two of the Martello towers, which like gigantic sentinels keep watch over the celebrated plains; then the redoubts around the citadel on the summit of Cape Diamond, slowly develop their strength; embrasures, cannon, and loop holes, successively presenting themselves. Over one battery appears the mast and yard of a telegraph; and close to the brow of the steep rock, 345 feet above the waters of the river, is the flag-staff and banner of the citadel. At the very bottom of the steep, and apparently covering the very scanty portion of ground which is saved from the encroachment of the river, are the numerous buildings of the lower town of Quebec, with the wharfs which have been projected into the stream, and vessels of various kinds crowding around them. On the right hand bank, and a little lower than the city, Point Levi, covered with buildings, and sloping up more gradually from the river, stretches out so as considerably to contract the channel. Before you is the ample bay, four miles in length, with the island of Orleans for its back ground, while to the right and left and all around are numerous merchantmen, and an occasional man-of-war; some of them recently from

the ports of Britain, and others waiting a wind to waft them to its shores.

The tide rises at the harbour about seventeen feet in common tides, and twenty-three in spring tides; and in disembarking at the wharfs, it is sometimes necessary to ascend by a sloping plank forty or fifty feet long. When ashore the traveller remarks the contrast presented by the lower town of Quebec, to the usual aspect of an American sea-port. The streets are very narrow, and crowded with high stone houses; numerous cars drive furiously along between the granaries and the wharfs, the carmen standing in their vehicles, and scolding in loud and angry French when their progress is stopped at the corner of a narrow pass. The foot path is in general very dirty, from the almost constant filtration of water from the rock above; and the jolting of comers and goers so constant and annoying, that none but those who have business to detain them, are likely to spend much time in the lower town.

To men in trade however, this is the nucleus of Quebec; the Exchange, the Custom House, the banking offices, with the counting houses, stores, and granaries, of the principal merchants, are all collected in close juxtaposition, into a few narrow streets, or rather lanes, which encircle the bottom of the rocky precipice, and intervene between it and the river. The greater part of the ground upon which the lower town stands, has been

gained by encroachment upon the channel of the St. Lawrence, and the same process is still going forward to extend the habitable limits;—a considerable addition has been made since the period of my first visit, and the end of a street has been opened which stretches round towards the river St. Charles. Beyond the town in this direction, is an extensive sandy beach, part of which is occupied by slips for ship building.

The approach from the lower to the upper town, is by Mountain street, as it is most appropriately named, lying in a kind of natural cleft in the brow of the precipice. This street, after crossing for a time the face of the hill, like a sheep walk, makes an angular turn, and goes right up the acclivity, where the ascent is least precipitous. At a little distance to the left, as you slowly ascend the street, is seen the castle of St. Louis, an extensive building erected at the very edge of a precipice more than two hundred feet high; it may indeed be said to go beyond its edge, for the outer front is supported upon an arched piazza of mason work, more than half the height of the building, the pillars of which go considerably down the brow of the rock. On the top of this piazza is an extensive gallery, commanding a fine view of the bay and the surrounding country. The castle of St. Louis was one of the early French fortifications; and the various massy buildings which they have left behind them, abundantly manifest the settled purpose

of the earlier occupants of Quebec, to maintain their position. The warlike character of this castle has now passed away, and it is reserved for the residence of the Governor.

On the right side of Mountain street the bare rock, for part of the way, frowns over the spectator's head; near the top is the Bishop's palace, as it is still called, although now occupied by the legislative bodies. The street is terminated by the Prescott gate, where a wide archway gives admittance to carriages, and a postern beside it accommodates foot passengers. This gate, as being the most accessible point of attack from the lower town, is defended by heavy cannon, and loop holes for musketry, while the whole of Mountain street is commanded both in front and flank by various batteries.

Within the gate the carriage way makes a circuit to the right, to gain by a gradual rise the summit level, while to the left is an extensive flight of wooden steps for pedestrians. On the platform within the gate a sentinel is stationed, who after sun-set challenges every passenger. This is however in peaceful times a mere matter of form; the gate is never shut, and every one who answers "a friend," is permitted to pass.

Having gained the top of the flight of steps, your back is turned upon the lower town, your right hand is towards the St. Charles, and your left towards the citadel on the summit of Cape

Diamond. The ground both in the city and on the plain, is highest upon the side of the St. Lawrence. Substantial stone buildings line the streets on both sides, not so lofty however as those in the lower town. Proceeding onward, you pass on the right the French cathedral, a very plain building with a tin-covered spire, and at a little distance on the left is seen the spire of the English cathedral, similarly covered. The Jesuits' college, now used as a barrack, next attracts notice; it is a massy building, fronting you as you advance, forming a hollow square of very considerable extent; the public market is held in an extensive open area opposite the barrack, and around it are numerous retail shops and taverns. You are now about the centre of the upper town.

Although the upper town of Quebec is clean and airy in comparison of the lower, the streets wider, and better paved, and the situation as a place of residence certainly much more desirable; yet there is not much in its appearance to interest a stranger, who has seen the more splendid cities of our native country. A few days however may be very agreeably spent in visiting the legislative assemblies if in session, in inspecting some of the public institutions, in examining the fortifications, and in making excursions to the plains of Abraham, the fall of Montmorenci, and some of the other interesting scenery around.

The House of Assembly, and Legislative Coun-

cil, I had no opportunity of visiting. The former corresponds to our House of Commons; the latter, so far as circumstances admit, to the House of Peers, or rather perhaps to the Privy Council.

The House of Assembly consists of about fifty members, the majority of whom at present, with the Speaker, are of the Romish faith; the debates of the house are generally conducted in French. The events of the last war gave ample opportunity for a display of popular feeling in the acts of this assembly, and as their constituents enjoy almost universal suffrage, the voice of the assembly is an accurate index to that of the people. The result, in every instance, evinced on the part of the native Canadians a most ardent attachment to the government under which they live; and a zealous determination to strengthen the hands of administration, in every measure that tended to secure the integrity of the British possessions.[3] The Canadians have indeed shown, both during the war and since its termination, that they have appreciated the value, and imbibed the spirit, of the constitution which Britain has bestowed upon them; and I am fully persuaded that his Majesty has no-

[3] See an able account of the "Political State of Lower Canada, &c. with Memoirs of the administration of Sir Gordon Drummond, and Sir John Coape Sherbrooke; by Robert Christie of Quebec;" published in New York in 1818. The author of this work has also published a spirited narrative of the military operations in Canada, during last war;—this work was, even by Americans, esteemed upon the whole candid and impartial.

where a more thoroughly loyal class of subjects.[4] It is yet scarcely seventy years since the province was captured from the French; yet the attachment of the people to their former masters seems as completely obliterated as if centuries had intervened, or as if the change had taken place in consequence of their own choice, rather than by the fortune of war.[5]

The Legislative Council consists of between twenty and thirty individuals, who are named by the crown and hold their office for life. In this body English feeling and interest has generally predominated, and they and the House of Assembly

[4] A recent traveller (Miss Wright,) has spoken of Canadian loyalty as being merely hatred to the heretical Americans, infused into the minds of the people by the priests. Had Canada been under the dominion of Spain, instead of Britain, there might have been some plausibility in this theory; but so far as I can judge, the Canadians care as little about the heresy of the one people, as of the other.

[5] Professor Silliman of Yale College published, in 1820, a narrative of a Tour to Montreal and Quebec, which is characterized by all the intelligence, liberality, and conciliatory spirit, which are so conspicuous in his Travels through Great Britain. I have much pleasure in transcribing his remarks upon the government of Canada. "It is questionable whether any conquered country," says he, "was ever better treated by its conquerors. They were left in complete possession of their religion, and of the revenues to support it, of their property, laws, customs and manners; and even the very governing and defending their country is almost without expense to them. It is doubtful whether our own favoured communities are politically more happy." *Tour between Hartford and Quebec, pp.* 364, 5.

have been frequently at open war with each other. Under the judicious administration however of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, much was done to allay party feeling, and remove irritation.[6]

Among the institutions connected with the Romish church, are a Seminary, very similar in its management to the one at Montreal, the Hôtel Dieu, a convent for the reception of the diseased poor, conducted by a Mère Superieure, and thirty-two nuns; and the convent of the Ursulines, containing a Superieure and forty-five nuns, who devote themselves principally to the education of female children.

The Ursulines are said to be more rigid in their seclusion than any other nuns in Canada, and it was not without some difficulty that a friend procured me permission to visit their convent. This difficulty however was partly occasioned by the absence of Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec, who is in general not unwilling to gratify the curiosity of strangers.

The convent of the Ursulines, like most of the religious houses which were erected by the French, is built in the form of a hollow square. Connected with it is a small chapel, which is open to the public; but a curtain suspended behind a

[6] A bill has been introduced in the present Session of the Imperial Parliament, to abolish the separation which since 1791 has existed between the local governments of Upper and Lower Canada. (1821.)

large grating conceals the nuns from the vulgar gaze.

At the principal door of the convent there is an open porch, with a barrel exactly similar to that which I saw at Fayal by which alms are dispensed to the poor.

On ringing the bell for admittance, this barrel was whirled half way round, so as to leave a small opening, and three nuns appeared within to whom we handed the order for our admittance. They told us, however, that Père D—— was at that moment in the chapel, hearing confession, and that they should be obliged to detain us without, till he returned.

In a few minutes his reverence made his appearance, having entered the convent by a private passage; the door was then unlocked, and we were admitted. The Mère Superieure was waiting to receive us; a jolly, fresh looking woman, rather above the ordinary height, of a dignified carriage, and apparently about thirty-five or forty years of age. We had no sooner exchanged bows with the ladies, than the usual question was put to me by the Mère Superieure, "Parlez vous Français, Monsieur?" Finding however that I was rather lame at this, she frankly waved ceremony and addressed me in English, which she spoke so well, that I could not help suspecting that she was of an English family.

We were conducted first into the room in which the nuns hear the services of the chapel; a plain

apartment, with an altar and a few pictures. From it we were taken into a kind of a parlour, where all the *religieuses*, except those who were engaged in the school-rooms, were waiting to receive us. They were ranged in line opposite the door, and immediately on our entering, bowed and smiled most graciously, and without the slightest appearance of formality or demureness. At one end of the row were four interesting young creatures wearing white veils; these were in their noviciate, and Père D—— informed us that they wore the white veil two years, before assuming the vows and the black one. Beside them were three who had been invested with the black veil only a few weeks before; had I visited Quebec a little sooner, I might have witnessed the ceremony, for it is always public. I was told that these three girls were only from eighteen to twenty-four years of age; they seemed not at all dull, but laughed and talked as good humouredly as any. The four novices seemed to be the only demure individuals among the whole, they bowed to us like the rest, but relaxed not a muscle of their countenances.

The dress of the Ursulines is dismal in the extreme. A long black robe of bombasin with very wide sleeves; a black veil tied round the forehead and thrown back over the shoulder; a piece of stiff starched linen covering the breast, and tied down by strings passing under the arms; the forehead hid by a piece of linen which covers to the

eye-brows, and a corresponding bandage brought down under the chin, so as to conceal the ears and part of both cheeks;—all that is elegant and graceful in the female figure is thus completely concealed, and the poor creatures are in shape and colour not very unlike so many walking coffins. Some of them wore a leathern belt at the waist, with a rosary and cross hanging from it. The dress of the novices differs in nothing from that of the others, excepting the colour of the veil; which, by the way, is not made use of to conceal the features, but is in all cases thrown back over the shoulders. The aspect of the nuns was more interesting than that of the Sœurs Gris at Montreal. Some of the young ones might I dare say have been thought pretty, had they worn a less ghastly dress; a few of the others had something of the grandmother aspect, but some, and the Mère Superieure in particular, had pleasing features and a lady-like deportment.

About half a dozen of the nuns accompanied us from room to room, each of whom showed the utmost inclination to enter into conversation with us. We saw three school rooms, all full of neatly dressed girls at their tasks, with two nuns in each as teachers; two of these were devoted to the children of the poorer classes, who are educated for a very small annual sum, the other was for the daughters of those who could afford to pay more liberally. Whenever we entered, the whole rose from their

seats and courtesied, continuing to stand till we left the room. In passing from one room to another we were conducted through a pretty extensive garden; the wall which surrounds it is not high, and were the Sisters disposed to make off, it would present no serious obstacle.

From the schools we were conducted to the kitchen and dining hall. The kitchen has a pump-well within it, and the chimney is of ample size, somewhat resembling those of an old baronial castle. The dining hall is floored with bricks of an octagon shape, and covered with a kind of red varnish which they told us was cow's blood. Long tables of deal surround the hall, with a drawer for each individual, containing a knife, fork, and spoon; all exceedingly clean and neat. Two of the nuns, in succession, wait upon the others. Passing through a gallery, which led I believe to sleeping apartments, I remarked over each of the doors an inscription in French; one of them, "Pour un moment de travail, une eternité de repos." Before taking leave, some little ornaments of neatly wrought bark-work, were exhibited to us, of which I purchased one or two.

We had been about an hour within, when a bell rang, which Père D—— gave us to understand was the signal for our departure. The nuns conducted us to the door, which I attempted to open, but found it locked; the Superieure before producing the key joked very good humouredly at the unusual

situation in which we found ourselves! The parting was as courteous and polite as could well be; we did not indeed shake hands, but no ladies could have pronounced a more affable and unceremonious 'Bon jour, Messieurs! Bon jour!'

The Ursulines have a revenue from the rent of land, besides what they receive for the instruction of the children. These sources of income however are not adequate to their support, and the garden, their needle-work, and the baking of pastry, complete the items in their ways and means.

One could almost wonder what can be the motives which impel these poor creatures to choose such a life; and how it should be so easy to keep up the number of *religieuses*, without the possibility of compulsory means. But the Romish religion is the most powerful engine of proselytism that has ever been devised; and auricular confession gives the priests such a power over the superstitious fears of their flocks, that when this is not counteracted by the natural and acquired advantages of shrewdness and education, for scriptural knowledge is of course out of the question, there is scarcely any degree of folly or guilt to which their spiritual advisers cannot, if they are so inclined, persuade them. If parents wish one of their daughters to become a nun, they have only to procure the co-operation of the confessor, and it is next to impossible but that they will succeed. Parental authority, combined with the threatened displeasure of the Almighty,

and the terrors of purgatory; aided also by the influence of example, and the allurements of reputed sanctity, will be fearful odds against a poor girl's inclination to social life; and if she is left to maintain the conflict single-handed, there can be little chance of her ultimate success.

In all probability however this system of terror is not often resorted to; the nuns themselves find plenty of recruits. They have perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty girls, of various ages, attending their school, some of whom are boarders, and of course almost completely secluded from other society. While conducting their education they naturally win the affections of the children—teach them to think as they think, and to adopt those opinions of the world and its affairs which are prevalent in the nunnery. The quietness, and probably the harmony of the establishment, become attractive to the children; and the false but delusive principles with which the system is identified, combine to influence their decision. Those who assume the white veil are of course eulogized, and their example recommended;—the contagion spreads; early friendship among the girls themselves increases the number of the votaries, and celibacy and seclusion become as ardent a subject of youthful desire in some breasts, as fashion and gayety are in others. In a family which I have frequently visited, one of the daughters, a lively and engaging girl about eleven or twelve, was pointed out

to me by her brother as intended for a nun. She spent the greater part of every day in one of the nunneries, and spoke of it herself as the object of her inclination. Whether her parents were in earnest upon the subject, or not, I cannot tell; but one of her aunts is a nun, and I think it not improbable that she may follow her example.

Whether they ever *rue*, to use a most expressive Scotish word, after the final vows have been taken, it is not easy to ascertain. Probably the greater number do not; but I cannot believe but that some regret what they cannot annul. If the determination has arisen from some sudden and perhaps unpremeditated cause, time will probably recall early associations, and excite pangs equally acute and unavailing. How pitiable must be the lot of a poor girl in such circumstances! I cannot say that I have seen any thing absolutely to confirm this idea; but from a few words of conversation, which one of the gentlemen with me had with a young looking nun in the Ursuline Convent, I am inclined to believe that she secretly wished herself out of it. So far as a good humoured laugh and cheerful words went, we had every reason to suppose the inmates perfectly happy and contented; but he knows little of mental suffering who is not aware, that

> "As a beam o'er the face of the water may glow,
> While the stream runs in darkness and coldness below;
> So the cheek may be tinged with a warm sunny smile,
> Though the cold heart to ruin runs darkly the while!"

A visit to the fall of the Montmorenci about seven miles from Quebec is a favourite excursion, and to those who have not seen the falls of Niagara it must be an object of much interest.

Leaving the city by St. John's gate, and crossing the St. Charles, the traveller takes the road which passes along the beach of the St. Lawrence. Extensive meadows, apparently of very rich land, stretch along to the left; to the right for some distance is the ample bay, then the northern channel of the St. Lawrence, and beyond it the island of Orleans. About three miles from Quebec he passes through the village of Beauport, where the ground begins gradually to rise. Beauport contains about seventy or eighty houses, many of which are of stone, and a Romish church with three tin-covered spires. Close by the village a small river, of the same name, crosses into the St. Lawrence, and on its banks are a distillery, flour, and flax-seed-oil mills. The ground now rises rapidly, to an elevation of between two and three hundred feet above the St. Lawrence.

The Montmorenci is a mountain stream, of small dimensions when compared to the mighty flood into whose bosom it flows; but in our own country, where rivers are on so much smaller a scale, it would be esteemed of considerable importance. For a short way above the fall, the bed of the river slopes very much, and urges the current into great rapidity before it is precipitated from the cliff. The

height of the fall is usually said to be 240 feet; I had no means of trying the accuracy of this estimate, but to judge from its impression upon the eye, I should not have been disposed to rate it at nearly so much. It is however a very fine cascade. The water breaks into foam at the very top, and descends in a broad stream of most snowy whiteness, sending up from below great columns of spray.

Below is a spacious semicircular basin of considerable extent, surrounded by steep and rocky banks, within which the water becomes smooth and tranquil before flowing into the St. Lawrence. The brow of the eastern bank is thickly wooded, but on the west a considerable part of the wood has been cut down. The bed of the river is coarse and very hard rock; on each bank a superstratum of lime stone is seen, through which the river appears to have worn its channel.[7]

The hand of indefatigable man has of late made important changes here. Mr. Paterson, the enterprizing proprietor of the neighbouring ground, has erected a very large saw-mill upon the bank of the St. Lawrence; and to drive the immense wheel

[7] The river Chaudiere, about seven miles above Quebec, is also celebrated for its falls, but as I had not time to visit them I extract the following from Professor Silliman's volume. "The Chaudiere is a river of considerable magnitude, but owing to its numerous rapids, falls, and various obstructions, it is scarcely navigable even for canoes. It rises from lake Megantic near the American territory: its general

which gives motion to his saws, he has diverted a portion of the water of the Montmorenci, from above the fall, and conducted it by a winding course down the slope of the hill. This must have been a work of prodigious labour, and great expense. To effect the desired object, a passage six or seven feet in height, and five feet wide, was excavated through the solid rock, leaving above it from ten to twelve feet of rock, from which a sluice hangs down to regulate the admission of the water. The declivity of the hill is so great, that much art was necessary to moderate the impetuosity of the current, in its progress towards the wheel. At first Mr. Paterson tried a serpentine channel, dug

width is from four hundred to six hundred yards, and its course is more than one hundred miles long. The banks are in general high, rocky and steep.—Salient points of rock at the falls, narrow the river so much, that its breadth is not more than four hundred feet, and the descent is estimated at one hundred and thirty. Enormous masses of rock lie on the shore, contiguous to the falls, and by similar masses the cataract is divided into three parts, which re-unite before they plunge into the abyss at the bottom. The cataract is grand, and wild, and turbulent; roaring and dashing and foaming over its irregular barrier—current encountering current, and all plunging into a restless whirlpool, boiling with incessant agitation; hence undoubtedly its French name, signifying the pot or boiling cauldron. The falls of the Chaudiere are by many considered as superior to that of Montmorenci; but though vastly grander on account of their width, and the great quantity of water, they did not strike us as having such *peculiar beauties*, and as differing so much from common cataracts. That of Montmorenci, is probably without a parallel in North America." *Tour between Hartford and Quebec, pp.* 254, 5, 6.

in the soil, but the prodigious force of the stream undermined the banks, and would soon have swept away a large portion of the surface; he was therefore obliged to place within the channel a strong wooden race-course, in which it is conducted, in a zig-zag direction, down the brow of the hill, till near the bottom it enters the natural bed of a mountain rivulet, and is ultimately precipitated upon the float-boards of the large water-wheel.

The saw-mill which this stream sets in motion, is, I believe, one of the most extensive in America, and of course in the world. It is a large wooden building overhanging the edge of the St. Lawrence; and an inclined plane runs down from it into the stream, along which the logs of wood which are to be cut, are drawn up by machinery from the raft. The log after being cut into the intended length of the planks, is fixed into a frame, with the one end to the teeth of the saw, and by the machinery drawn forward upon the blades, till they have cut their way through to the other end. There are four saw frames, each of which is fitted with as many blades as are necessary to cut the desired number of planks out of the log. The saws rise and fall perpendicularly, with such velocity that a log twelve feet long is converted into planks in five minutes. The saw frames are made of the softest pine, for the friction is so great that harder wood could not be prevented from burning; when I saw them at

work they were smoking profusely, and in spite of all the care that is taken to keep them well greased, they sometimes kindle. In the spring and fall of the year prodigious rafts of timber are generally to be seen, in the river, in the neighbourhood of this mill; and vessels busily engaged in taking the planks and logs on board.

The heights of Montmorenci are celebrated as having been the position on which Wolfe made an unsuccessful attack, some days before landing at the Plains of Abraham. Mr Paterson, in cutting the channel of his mill-course, turned up a great many shot and shells of different dimensions. The French were entrenched upon the heights; and while a large body of British troops mounted the brow of the hill, and attempted to carry the works by storm, the vessels, to cover their attack, and divide the attention of the enemy, cannonaded the intrenchments from the river. The position of the French however was too strong for Wolfe's soldiers; between five and six hundred of the flower of his army were cut down, by the fire from the heights, and the attempt was abandoned.

A fine view of Quebec and the river, is obtained from the heights above the saw-mill. The northern half of the semicircular outline of the rocky promontory, and the declining banks towards the St. Charles, are fully exposed to view. There is a kind of depression on the upper surface of the nearest part of the rock on which the city stands, which

shows a considerable portion of the town; the tin-covered roofs rising as they recede, and the whole overtopped by the spires, the telegraph, and the flag-staff. Below the steep, is that part of the lower town which lies towards the St. Charles; the houses to the right scrambling, as it were, up a part of the acclivity. On the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence are the houses of Point Levi;—between them and the citadel is the course of the river towards Montreal, and the blue eminences which at a distance bound the prospect. Below, and to the left, is the fertile and well-wooded island of Orleans, while multitudes of vessels of every size crowd upon the view, part of them clustering thickly round the wharfs of the lower town, and others sprinkled here and there along the river.

The ride to Montmorenci was a summer excursion; I shall now present you with a winter one, from which I have just returned. The gentleman who procured me the introduction to the Ursuline Convent, has lately begun to clear some land upon the bank of the river Jacques Cartier, about eighteen miles from Quebec. Here he has stationed a farmer and his family, who have recently emigrated from Ayrshire; and a few days ago, he invited me to accompany him on a visit to them. The weather has been for some time broken and unpleasant, such as I understand is generally experienced here at the commencement of winter,

rain and snow, thaw and frost, following close upon each other; although he warned me however that the road was bad, and that nine miles required to be performed on foot, through the woods, the desire of seeing the new settlement prevailed, and I agreed to bear him company.

We equipped ourselves for the expedition with Canadian moccassins, which had been previously saturated with fish oil; they are much easier for the feet than either boots or shoes, and have a flap which embraces the ancle, and is tied round it with a thong. Along with these we wore each two pairs of stockings. My companion bound a military sash round his waist, and I supplied the want of it with a silk handkerchief.

The first half of our journey, which we performed in a calash, was to the Indian village of Lorette, upon the bank of the St. Charles, about nine miles from Quebec. About 250 of the once powerful Huron tribe, have been long domiciliated here, and have adopted the religion, and to a considerable extent, the language of the French Canadians. There is a church in the village, and a priest resides near it, who it is said has considerable influence among the natives in preventing dissipation. He will not allow any of them to keep a tavern, but they are not prevented from affording travellers shelter and food, when they require it.

We drove to the door of Monsieur Etienne, one

of their chiefs, with whom my conductor was acquainted, and obtained from Madame a most comfortable basin of broth, very much resembling what we are so fond of in Scotland. Mingled sleet and rain had driven in our face all the way from Quebec, and I was already soaked to the skin; I therefore gladly availed myself of Madame Etienne's kitchen-fire to dry my coat.

The parlour in which the broth was served to us, was a pretty spacious room, with a stove, sofa, and the other usual articles of furniture. Two little bed-rooms opened from it, with sashed doors; the beds were hung with white curtains, the coverlets of white cotton, and all arranged with the utmost neatness. Every thing about the house was orderly and comfortable; it is exceedingly rare indeed to meet with a country inn, either in Canada or the United States, half so inviting in its aspect as this poor Huron's habitation. Monsieur Etienne is an old man, but vigorous and active; it was but lately that he returned from a hunting excursion, of more than a thousand miles into the woods. Madame appears to be considerably younger, she was employed embroidering moccassins; both speak French fluently. They retain the Indian shape of their garments, but the materials were of good broad cloth, and the lady wore a good many silver ornaments.

We were now to commence the walking part of our excursion, and engaged a young Indian to ac-

company us, named Paul, who carried our well-stocked wallet upon his back. The contents of the knapsack, however, were not all for our own use; my conductor was conveying with him some supplies for the larder of his settlers. Paul was a vigorous young man about six feet high, dressed in a frock coat, leggings and moccassins, with a hatchet stuck under his sash.

Our walk through the woods was fatiguing and unpleasant. The passage, for it could not be called a road, had been cut only two years before, and the rain had fallen so copiously, that we frequently sunk in bogs and quagmires nearly to the knee. For a time the oil with which my moccassins were impregnated resisted the water, but by and by I sunk so deep that dry feet were out of the question. The rain and snow continued for about half an hour after we started, but towards the afternoon ceased. Two or three huts occupied by new settlers, occurred at intervals, and in one place we found them busily employed in felling the trees. At a mountain stream, which came brawling down through the forests, we reached a small saw-mill, which has been erected for the benefit of the settlers; it was of very humble dimensions, in comparison of Mr Paterson's at Montmorenci, and had but one blade. About three miles beyond this we reached 'Riverside' as my friend has very appropriately named it; where we found the settler and his family, in a very comfortable wooden house of

two apartments, with sashed windows, a large stove in the kitchen, and many other conveniences, which could not have been so soon acquired had he been obliged to struggle through, like many poor emigrants, with no resources but his own. Three Indians were assisting him in clearing the land, and we saw several stacks of grain, some of which were the second, and others the first crop.

The Indians handle the axe with great dexterity in felling trees. They attack the trunk about three feet from the ground, making the lower side of the gash exactly horizontal, and the upper inclining to it at about an angle of forty-five. The chips are struck off from the upper surface, and in consequence of their inclination to the grain of the wood fly off with rapidity before the edge of the axe. One of them will cut down three or four large trees, before a couple of carpenters with a saw could manage one.

The Jacques Cartier is at this spot about 130 yards wide, and is navigable up and down for nearly twenty miles; below, however, falls and rapids cut off the communication, so that the settlers have not the advantages which a navigable stream would afford them, to carry their produce to Quebec. A few small islands occupy the centre of the river, and the opposite bank swells pretty rapidly up into a considerable mountain.

There was nothing very new to be seen at this

'lodge in the vast wilderness,' but its situation showed something of the character of that life to which thousands are annually betaking themselves; many of them sadly ignorant, I am afraid, of the hardships and difficulties against which they have to struggle, and the utter exclusion to which they must in general submit, from all the comforts of civilized society. Lonely, however, as this cottage was, surrounded with dense forests, and very soon to be enveloped in the snows of a Canadian winter, with an atmosphere sometimes cold enough to freeze the mercury of the thermometer, it might be said to know nothing of seclusion, in comparison of many of the thousand huts which in the more remote regions of this vast continent are buried in the woods. We passed two or three log houses before we reached this one, and at a little distance on the opposite bank of the stream there are one or two more; the distance from Quebec also is but trifling, and in winter when the snow is on the ground, the sleigh or carriole will fly across the intervening space in three or four hours. Yet after all, what a pitiable life awaits them during the long winter months! The ground completely locked up, field labour totally suspended, the cold so intense that unless they are wrapped in furs it is impossible to stir out, without being frost-bitten; and no adequate employment within doors to occupy their attention. What can the man and his wife with their three children do, during the long winter months, but hang over

the fire in torpid inactivity, eating, sleeping, and fruitlessly sighing for spring.

This is bad enough; but to be buried in the boundless forests of the inland country must be still worse. Our Ayrshire friend is at least within reach of his fellow-creatures if he should need their aid, and of some of the comforts of life if he has wherewith to purchase them; but the backwoodsman who buries himself in the pathless savannas or drearier forests of the western country, a hundred miles from a surgeon, and two or three hundred miles from a church, with his thousand acres of land untenanted by a human being but those in his own hut, is surely an object of pity to the poorest inmate of an hospital or a work-house. He may retain as many of the characteristics of humanity as to come within the letter of the schoolmen's definition, *animal bipes implume*, but should he not fall a victim to copperheads, bears, broken limbs, or swamp fevers, what has he that the poorest need covet? He may manage to raise as much wheat and Indian corn, as will satisfy the cravings of hunger, and perhaps procure him once a-year clothes for himself and his family; he may shoot wild animals to make cords of their sinews, candles of their fat, and shoes of their skins—but he is absolutely excluded from human society, and a stranger to all the relations, duties, and comforts, which are connected with it. His children grow up without instruction, ignorant of their duty to God

and to man. In the monotonous sameness with which time passes, he loses reckoning of the days of the week, or should he remember the return of the First Day, in all probability he disregards it;—he has scarcely a single motive for action superior to those which impel the inferior animals, nor is he animated by any hope beyond the anticipations of the merest physical gratifications. The hog that burrows beside him for acorns, has scarcely a less intellectual existence.

It may be said of some who betake themselves to this life, that it was an involuntary choice, and that stern necessity drove them to it. Of a few this may be correct, but of comparatively few. Those whose resources are most exhausted, in general find a refuge nearer to the abodes of man, where perhaps they obtain a smaller portion of ground, but where at least they are far less excluded from civilized life. Those who select the western wilderness have been in general men who were enjoying a moderate, and sometimes a liberal share of the bounties of Providence; but who were the dupes of discontented political principles, or undue desires of encreased substance. We have heard of many in our own country who were supporting their families in a respectable and comfortable way, and even accumulating a moderate independence, who notwithstanding abandoned the occupations at which they had so prospered, and converting all their property into money, brought it out here to bury it in the woods.

As night came on, it began to suggest some consideration as to where we should sleep. This however, I soon found, puzzled nobody but myself; the arrangements were very simple, easily contrived, and speedily executed. The kitchen of the house, probably ten or twelve feet square, was as yet the only apartment that was tenantable; for a deep excavation had been made in the other in which to protect the winter's provision from frost, and no floor had as yet been laid over it. A wooden bedstead which had been erected in the kitchen, as the family dormitory, was assigned to the landlord and myself; a *shake-down*, as we should call it at home, contained the farmer, his wife, and their three children, while Paul and the other three Indians took each a billet of wood as a pillow, and wrapping their blankets round them stretched themselves on the floor.

Next morning was clear and frosty. A short sail on the river before breakfast served to quicken our appetites, and in the forenoon we set off for Quebec. Paul's burden, like that of Æsop, had shrunk to a mere shadow. After a walk of nearly three hours we reached the abode of Monsieur Etienne, whose mansion, contrasted with that which we had left, seemed more inviting and more comfortable than ever. Another basin of warm broth was prepared for us by Madame, and our calash and little Canadian nag soon conveyed us to Quebec.

I have already alluded to the fortifications of

Quebec, but they are far too important to be passed over with so slight a notice. A glance at the plains of Abraham, however, will be a suitable introduction.

Issuing from the city by St. Louis's gate, an extensive level ground lies before you, with the suburb of St. Roch upon the right hand. These are the plains of Abraham, which are here about a mile in width; and it is necessary to recollect that in surveying them from this position, Quebec lies behind the spectator, the St. Charles flowing past upon the right hand, and the St. Lawrence upon the left. The plains, although in general level, are crossed by a gentle rising in the ground at some distance from the fortifications, and were batteries erected here by a besieging enemy, they would command a considerable part of the walls; the guns, however, upon Cape Diamond are still from ten to fifteen feet above them. Here, and for a considerable space around, was the decisive battle fought. The ground is quite unincumbered with trees, and except the slight elevation to which I have already alluded, there is no inequality in the ground which could benefit either assailants or defendants; it was "a fair field and no favour." Beyond the elevated ridge, four strong Martello towers have been erected, extending in a line across the peninsula; and heavy guns crown their summits, which would sweep the whole extent of the plains. It is said that on the side next to Quebec, the stone work of which

they are constructed is comparatively weak; so that should they fall into an enemy's hand, they may be immediately battered down by the guns of the citadel.

Beyond these towers an oval block of granite, three or four feet long, has been sunk into the ground, to mark the spot where tradition says that Wolfe breathed his last. It corresponds with other three stones which were arranged in a true meridional line, about thirty years after the capture of Quebec, to assist in adjusting the instruments which are used in surveying the country. Weld says that a line marking the meridian was cut in the stone itself, but if so, it has long since disappeared under the dilapidating attacks of relic-hunters; who have so rounded away every projection that I found it totally impossible to chip off the smallest fragment.[7]

It is somewhat remarkable that no monument has been erected at Quebec to the memory of Wolfe. There is indeed a small wooden figure, in a niche at the corner of one of the streets in the upper town, attired in a broad skirted scarlet coat and cocked hat, but it is a miserable attempt at sculpture, and would hardly be allowed to pass as a figure-head for a collier. In former times the proposal of a public monument may have been prevented by a

[7] Professor Silliman was afterwards more successful, but it must be recollected that he is a mineralogist, and goes about with his hammer in his pocket, while I had nothing to knock with but a piece of stone.

very proper respect to the feelings of the French population; but so far as I can judge, they no longer consider the conquest as either a humiliation or a misfortune. It has given them the inestimable advantages of a free constitution, and completely delivered them from the miseries attendant on the endless contest between the British and French colonists. Had they been as sensitive on this point as some might suppose, the man of timber to whom I have alluded, would not have been allowed so long to occupy his niche in quietness; he is not much larger than the little highlander who has so long proffered his *mull* over the door of a snuff-shop in our native city, and is perched so low, that a tall fellow passing in the street might almost pull him down by the nose.

The fortifications of the city are not difficult to describe. On the south and east the precipice of rock on which the city stands is in most places perfectly inaccessible, while the more practicable points admit of easy and effectual defence. On the north, the banks of the St. Charles are low, shallow and muddy; effectually securing the town from the approach of ships of war, or the erection of hostile works; both of which, besides, would in this situation be under the fire of the batteries along the brow of the rock. The only vulnerable point is on the west, adjoining to the plains of Abraham.

The citadel, upon the highest part of Cape

Diamond,[8] may be said to be the nucleus of the works which have been erected to protect this side of Quebec. No strangers, unless by very rare and special permission from the highest authorities, nor in general any but the military, are permitted to enter the citadel.[9] I understand however that there is really nothing extraordinary to be seen. Its defences are of the strongest kind, its guns of the largest calibre; and magazines are embraced within

[8] Cape Diamond is so called, from the circumstance that crystals of quartz, frequently very pure and regularly formed, are found in tolerable abundance between the layers of slaty rock on the brow of the precipice. They occur indeed in various directions round the town. Professor Silliman however informs us that hunting after them is not a very popular amusement. "As I was hammering," says he, "upon a rock, to which I had climbed, so far up one of the precipices that I was above the chimnies of the houses in the contiguous parts of the lower town, a man came running out, and with a French accent, and much vehement gesture and expostulation, conjured me to desist, unless I meant to bury him and his house in ruins, by causing the rocks to fall. I saw no danger, as the rocks appeared tolerably firm, but of course desisted and came down. Indeed so large a number of the houses in the lower town are built against the foot of the precipice, or very near it, that the rocks look as if they might at any time fall and crush them; it would seem as if they must of course do so should any of them give way. We were informed that a great mass fell recently, and much endangered many houses, but happily missed them; one house is said to have been crushed last winter, but I did not hear that any life was lost."—*Tour between Hartford and Quebec, pp.* 781, 2.

[9] Professor Silliman, by singular good fortune, obtained admission to the citadel, but I have heard that his success has been the cause of a subsequent more rigorous enforcement of the prohibitory statute. His remarks are, "this exclusion may be judicious as preventing nu-

its circuit, which might enable the garrison to make a final stand, even were the whole range of the outer works reduced by an enemy. The highest point within the citadel is Brock's battery, which was erected during last war, and commands it is said all the works on this side of the town From the citadel, which is immediately over the St. Lawrence, enormous walls cross the plain, extending down towards the St. Charles. These walls have all the additional aid of outer-works, ditch, glacis, and covered way. Strong bastions project at intervals; and in whatever direction you look, heavy cannon converge, so as to meet the assailant at every turn, both with a direct and a cross fire. There are two gates on this side, St. John's and St. Louis's; but every approach to them is fortified with such jealous care, that one cannot conceive a possibility of their ever being entered but by consent of the garrison. The wall at each gate is said to be about fifty feet in thickness. Within the walls and between

merous and troublesome visits, but it appears very unnecessary in a military point of view, for the more the strength of the citadel is made known, the less disposed, I am persuaded, will any enemy be to attack it. Commodore Bainbridge, during his recent visit here (I understand) was freely shown the citadel, and every part of the fortifications; and I heard a British officer say, that in his view it was quite ridiculous to pursue any other course, and to pretend to any secret about the thing. We were very forcibly struck with the formidable preparations, which seem, on all sides, to render an attack upon the place a hopeless enterprize."—*Tour between Hartford and Quebec, p. 277.*

the two gates is a fine sloping bank, or esplanade, of considerable extent, on which on the 4th of June I saw a *feu de joie* fired by the military, while the guns of the citadel re-echoed the discharge.

Other batteries and lines of defence are continued around the brow of the rock, on both sides, towards the lower town; but excepting in the neighbourhood of the Prescott gate, there appears to be comparatively little occasion for them. Between this gate and the St. Charles, is the grand battery, commanding the bay and a great part of the harbour.

Upon the whole, Quebec may be regarded as pretty nearly impregnable.[10] The walls are so high that escalade is hopeless, so thick that a breach seems impracticable, and while Britain retains its naval superiority in the river, blockade is out of the question. The length and severity of the winter also act as a powerful auxiliary, for field operations could scarcely then be carried on. I have heard it indeed said, that in the winter nights

[10] Professor Silliman says "An officer of the garrison informed us that it took him an hour and a half, merely to visit all the sentinels on duty, upon the various stations on the walls; this appears to evince that the walls cannot be much less than three miles in circuit; and the same military man gave it as his opinion that it would require at least ten thousand men for a complete garrison. —Going into a book store in Quebec, I observed in one of the gazettes of the city, a paragraph copied from a recent American paper, to this effect, that if it should be ever desirable to take Quebec, it could at any time be easily done, in two months, *at the point*

the sentinels on the ramparts are relieved every fifteen minutes, so overpowering is the intensity of the cold.

The literary character of Quebec is, so far as I can judge, very much akin to that of Montreal; perhaps any difference that may be, is against Quebec. It is more of a sea-port town than the other, and many of the mercantile houses are merely branches of those in Montreal, conducted in general by the junior partners, and devoted to the superintendence of their Custom House transactions.

The same circumstances must influence in some measure the character of society; although as the seat of the colonial government, and a garrison town, it is likely to be more gay, in the gay season, than even Montreal; my opportunity however of observing domestic manners, has been extremely limited. The population is somewhat under that of Montreal.

To the aspect of the Protestant religion in

of the bayonet. Surely such a remark is indecent, with respect to a people with whom we are now in amity; and to any one who has ever seen Quebec, it appears superlatively ridiculous, and only exposes us to contempt:—an effort to *take the moon at the point of the bayonet* would be almost equally rational." *Tour between Hartford and Quebec, p.* 277, and *Note.* In the same volume pp. 282—291, is an interesting and apparently very accurate account of General Montgomery's unsuccessful attack on Quebec, in the commencement of the American revolutionary war; I regret that its length prevents me from extracting it.

Montreal and Quebec, I have during both visits paid considerable attention, and I am sorry to be under the necessity of giving a very unfavourable report of it. There are in Quebec, as in Montreal, four places of worship, an Episcopalian, a Scotish, a Methodist, and an Independent; in Montreal in place of the Independent, there is a Burgher congregation.

In the Episcopalian churches the doctrine which was preached, so far as I could judge, was decidedly subversive of the distinguishing principles of the gospel declaration, "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God."

In the Scotish churches the *mode* of worship of course differed, but in doctrine I could detect nothing which did not correspond. In one of them I was present on a sacramental occasion, as it is usually called; and the clergyman's discourse was intended as an exposition of the Assembly's catechism, on the subject of the Lord's supper. The spirit of this address was, "Man is a frail and erring creature, and God neither expects nor requires perfection; if we are only sincere in desiring and endeavouring to do well, it is all that is necessary to qualify us for worthily receiving this ordinance, and being accepted of by God." Another preacher undertook to illustrate the passage, "If any one provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied

the faith and is worse than an infidel." The precepts of self-denial contained in the sermon on the Mount, he told us, were intended for the twelve disciples alone, and were only necessary in those days when men were so averse to religion, that miracles were necessary to convince them; but that "now when religion is fully established," there was no occasion for such self-denial and mortification. The active scenes of worldly occupation, he assured us, were the true field where religion was to be acquired and displayed, and it mainly consisted in an unremitting attention to our business, whatever it might be, and honest endeavours to acquire wealth; "not indeed for the sordid gratification of our avarice, but to enlarge our power and influence, and particularly our capacity of virtue and usefulness."

In one of the Methodist chapels I heard a pretty animated discourse on death, in which the preacher contrasted that of a 'good man,' with that of a 'bad;' but when he came to tell us in what the one differed from the other, his frequent admonition to 'walk in the paths of piety,' without telling us in what this consisted, and without ever telling us of that truth which alone can take away the fear of death, only showed that his own ideas on the subject were not those which would stand the scrutiny of comparison with scripture. His discourse was certainly very different from that of the Presbyterian minister; but alas, how many

different ways are there of going wrong, in the statement of religious doctrine! I went to the corresponding chapel in the other city in expectation of hearing sermon, but mistook the hour of service, and found a Sabbath school in operation. There were about forty children present, some of whom were learning the letters, but others could read well, and a few repeated hymns. They were quiet and orderly in their behaviour, and I augured well of the appearance which the school presented. One of the teachers told me that it had only existed for about six weeks.

I hoped to have heard a good discourse in the Burgher chapel at Montreal, for I had learned that the minister had been under the tuition of a celebrated preacher of that connexion in New York, and was reputed correct in doctrine. On going to the chapel, however, I learned that there was to be no service that day, and that the regular minister had left the city in consequence of bad health.

In the Independent chapel at Quebec, there is at present no regularly settled minister; I heard a highlander preach, whose knowledge of the English language was exceedingly imperfect, and his utterance of course feeble. He seemed however to know the simple doctrine of salvation through the blood of Jesus, and I listened to his highland accent with emotions of considerable pleasure. His text was the concluding sentence of Cornelius' address to Peter, and though in point of construc-

tion and delivery, his discourse was weak enough, yet its having 'the root of the matter' in it, atoned for many imperfections. His congregation was a very slender one.

A year or two ago there was a Bible Society established in Quebec, but its existence was of short duration. The "Lord Bishop" was, it is said, of that class of Episcopalians who contemplate with alarm the circulation of the Bible, without the qualifying ministrations of the book of Common Prayer; and his pastoral authority having in some shape or other sanctioned, or been supposed to sanction, its reprobation, the institution soon expired.[11] To the same ecclesiastical dignitary is attributed the failure of an attempt to establish Lancasterian schools. The measure was in contemplation, and my informant assured me that there was every reason to have expected the co-operation, or at least the permission, of the Romish Bishop; but the Protestant one having refused his patronage, it was followed by a corresponding disapproval from his brother prelate.

It is to be regretted that so little has hitherto been attempted for the instruction of the French Canadians. Excepting the 'Seminaries' of Montreal and Quebec, I am not aware of the existence of any school, where their boys can acquire even the most ordinary elements of education.

[11] I saw in one of the huts on the Jacques Cartier, a Bible with the stamp of the "Quebec Bible Society."

Their spiritual instruction is equally neglected. There is not any where in the province, so far as I have been able to learn, a single individual capable of preaching the truths of the gospel in the French language.[12] Surely the London Missionary Society should not overlook so important a station. From most of the protestant ministers of Canada, I am afraid, nothing can be expected but total apathy to such an attempt; and whoever undertakes it, must not only be thoroughly imbued with a knowledge and love of the truth, but have that conscientious ardour in the cause, which will bear him up under much difficulty and much opposition. It would be of importance that his talents and acquirements should be both respectable; for the Romish clergymen are in general men of education, and should they enter into controversy with him, he would in all probability have no auxiliary in the struggle. He must however be a man of much prudence; for the duties of such a situation would be both difficult and important, and humanly speaking, every thing would depend upon the manner in which they were performed. That the native Canadians would not be totally disinclined to listen to him, there is every reason to believe. While present in the Methodist chapel in Montreal, one of them came in and sat down

[12] I have subsequently learned that there are some Methodist missionaries in Lower Canada, who preach in French; but I heard nothing of them when in the country. (1822.)

beside me. I pointed out the text to him; he thanked me in a whisper, but said that he did not understand English. After sitting a few minutes he rose and went out, but it was in all probability his inability to understand the preacher, that prevented him from being as attentive an auditor as any one present.

The observance of the Sabbath, both in Montreal and Quebec, is such as might be expected from the general tone of manners and principles. I found a gentleman on the Sabbath forenoon very busily engaged in posting his books, and the following day no less busily engaged in conversation with his clergyman upon the affairs of the congregation; in which I understand he is a leading man! It would be most unjust to make an individual case the ground of a general decision, but I am sorry to say, that this is but too fair a sample of the prevailing system.

The poor Papists seem to be by far the most attentive to the external observance of the Sabbath. The churches are filled with them from an early hour, and if the weather be good, crowds of those who cannot get admission may be seen kneeling outside; crossing themselves and praying. Upon the whole I am constrained to say, with regard to all that I have seen of the religious aspect of Lower Canada, that it is very much the reverse of what as a Briton and a christian I should wish it to be.

LETTER XVIII.

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MONTREAL TO ST. JOHN'S—LAKE CHAMPLAIN—ROUSSE'S POINT —PLATTSBURGH—BURLINGTON—CROWN POINT—TICONDEROGA—LAKE GEORGE—WHITEHALL—SARATOGA AND BALLSTON SPRINGS—RETURN TO NEW YORK—*DIARY*—ST. ANDREW'S DAY —FIRE—FIRE ENGINES—SLEIGHS—BOARDING HOUSES—HOUSE-KEEPING—TAMMANY HALL—EVENING VISITS—YOUNG MARRIED COUPLE—LOTTERIES—SLAVES AND SLAVERY—NEWSPAPERS—SENTIMENTS OF AMERICANS TOWARDS BRITAIN—CONDUCT OF DIFFERENT CLERGYMEN DURING THE LATE WAR—EFFECT OF THE NEWS OF PEACE—CHRISTMAS—TEA PARTY.

New York, November, 1818.

LEAVING Montreal, the traveller crosses in a log canoe to Longueuil, a village on the opposite bank of the river. The St. Lawrence is here about two miles wide, but the passage across is rendered tedious, by the strength of the current which rushes violently along between the islands. St. Helena, the largest of these, has been lately purchased by Government, and barracks are to be erected on it, which will have the advantage of removing the soldiers from Montreal.

From Longueuil a stage runs to La Prairie, seven miles up the St. Lawrence, and thence across to St. John's on the river Sorell twelve miles

distant. There is a road by Chambly in place of La Prairie, and if the traveller has his choice, it is the preferable one, as it will afford him a view of Fort Chambly, one of the old French erections, which during last war resumed its unwonted character, and in 1814 was the head-quarters of an encampment of 6000 men.

On the morning after leaving Montreal, I sailed from St. John's in the Phœnix[1] steam boat, for Whitehall, at the southern extremity of lake Champlain.

The Sorell, at St. John's, is rather more than a mile across, and gradually widens till we pass Isle aux Noix, distant about nine miles. Isle aux Noix contains about eighty five acres; its situation gives it a complete command of the navigation of the river, and it is therefore an important military station. The works, consisting of three strong forts, supported by block houses, and inclosing barracks of considerable extent, have a showy appearance from

[1] I made two passages down the lake in the Phœnix; she was a very fine vessel, but was destroyed by fire in the autumn of the following year. This calamitous event took place at midnight, while the vessel was full of passengers, and in a wide part of the lake. Her head was immediately turned towards an island, and every effort made to hasten her speed towards it, but long ere she reached the shore the flames had spread from end to end; the greater part of the passengers and crew escaped by the small boats, but six or seven lives were lost. The fire was occasioned by a candle, which had been left burning in a small closet, and had communicated to the shelf above. A spirited description of the melancholy catastrophe is contained in Miss Wright's volume on America.

the river; and the scarlet uniform gives the British traveller a kind of farewell look, as he leaves the territory of his sovereign, to re-enter the dominions of the republic.

About eleven miles from Isle aux Noix we pass Rousse's Point, upon the western bank, where a very fine semicircular stone fort has been erected since last war by the American government. This in the event of future hostilities would have been, in the hands of the Americans, a complete safeguard against the advance of any hostile squadron from Canada; but it has lately been whispered that the Commissioners for ascertaining the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, the boundary line between the two countries, have discovered that this fine fort stands on British ground, and will of course become an unintentional present from the United States to his majesty. The chief astronomer employed on behalf of Britain, was a passenger with me in the steam boat, but he preserved a very prudent silence, and declined answering any questions on the subject.[2]

The Sorell terminates a little below the fort, and the steam boat enters the lake. Lake Champlain

[2] This report was eventually confirmed, and excited not a little exultation on the one side, and mortification on the other. The theodolites of the astronomers however have subsequently made another discovery, less to the taste of the Canadians, which is, that the only navigable channel of the Long Sault rapid is on the American side of the line, and of course that our boats must ask leave to navigate it.

from this to Whitehall, is about ninety-five miles long. For more than thirty miles however towards the lower extremity it is so narrow, that it assumes the character of a river, and may of course be said to correspond with the Sorell which we have just left. The body of the lake, properly so called, is exceedingly irregular in shape; flowing round a good many islands, some of which are of considerable size, and washing numerous promontories and indented points along the shore. The banks are in general flat, and covered with wood to the water's edge.

Soon after entering the lake the steam boat was brought to, near a small wooden building upon the shore, over which the flag of the United States was flying. This is the Custom House, and an officer came on board to inspect our luggage. The inspection however was a mere matter of form; the trunks and portmanteaus could scarcely be said to be more than opened and shut again. The boat was not delayed by this ceremony, for by a judicious arrangement, the officer goes along with the boat to the nearest port, and waits for the returning vessel.

About twenty-five miles from Rousse's Point we entered Plattsburgh bay, and came to anchor off the town, to land and receive passengers. Here the British fleet under Commodore Downie, was captured by the American one under Commodore M'Donough; and its brave commander fell in the

bloody struggle. The British troops under Sir G. Prevost witnessed from the shore the disastrous conflict; but in place of attacking the town, as was previously intended, and as Americans universally say might yet have been done, with every prospect of both carrying the position, and recapturing the vessels, the commander gave the finishing stroke to our humiliation by ordering an immediate and precipitate retreat. Plattsburgh is a lively bustling little town, and slopes up showily from the water. The steam boat did not go along-side the wharf, so that I did not get on shore; nor was I very anxious to enlarge my acquaintance with scenes, which as a Briton I could not think of, but with a certain degree of bitterness. We reaped no laurels last war from the events on the lakes.

About twenty-four miles farther, we reached Burlington, in the State of Vermont, upon the opposite bank; and soon after passing it, evening sunk down upon us.

During the night we passed Crown Point, upon the right hand, where the wide part of the lake terminates, and what may be called the river begins. Here are the ruins of a stone fort, which was originally built by the French, and afterwards renewed and strengthened by the English when they obtained possession. Twelve or fourteen miles beyond it, on the same side, are the remains of Fort Ticonderoga, also of French origin. Ticonderoga stands on an elevated point of land

formed by the outlet of lake George,[3] whose waters come down from the more elevated mountainous land on the west; and flowing round the little cape and the ruins, unite with the Champlain. The warlike character of these positions has now passed away; but in the days of French power in America, devastating excursions were often made from them upon the neighbouring British colonists, and their more recent fame is identified with General Burgoyne's disastrous expedition during the revolutionary war. Ticonderoga was for a time held by the Americans, and was generally supposed to be impregnable, but Burgoyne's troops dragged up some battering cannon to a neighbouring and much higher eminence, formerly called Sugar Hill, but now Mount Defiance, which caused the precipitate abandonment of the old fortress. On the opposite side of the Champlain is Mount Independence, where the Americans had also an intrenched post.

On getting upon deck next morning, we were passing between a double line of mountains, but

[3] Lake George, about thirty six miles in length, and from one to two miles broad, lies nearly parallel to the lower end of lake Champlain. It is celebrated for the grandeur of the mountainous scenery amidst which it is embosomed; for the number of its islands, on some of which beautiful crystals of quartz are found; and for the remarkable transparency of its waters, and the epicurean delicacy of the bass and trout which they contain. Many places along its shores are famous in the history of the wars of the Colonies and the Revolution. The forests which skirt it, still abound with deer and rattlesnakes.

near the banks of the stream the ground was marshy and uninteresting, and the channel very irregular and winding; in some places the turns were so abrupt, and the stream so narrow, that a tow line had to be got out a-head, to aid the helm in bringing the vessel round.

We now approached the end of the lake, but I was not permitted to escape from it till I had been again reminded of the melancholy battle of Plattsburgh. The unfortunate Downie's fleet, and that of his antagonist, now dismantled and roofed over, are moored by the edge of the stream a few miles from Whitehall.

Whitehall is a dirty, but busy little town. It was formerly called Skenesborough, and under that name is famous in Burgoyne's campaign. It is built upon the banks of a muddy stream called Wood Creek, which flows from the south, and branching into two arms, tumbles over some steep rocks into the channel of lake Champlain. The houses stand partly in a narrow valley between the mountains, and partly upon their steep acclivities. At Whitehall the new canal terminates, which is to connect lake Champlain and the Hudson.[4]

There are two stage routes from Whitehall to Albany, and the distance by the shorter is about seventy-two miles; for more than the latter half of the way the road skirts the bank of the Hudson, and

[4] See an account of this canal in a note to Letter Eleventh.

the traveller passes over a great part of the ground which was traversed by General Burgoyne's army, and contended for mile after mile by the Americans, till ultimately the fortune of war rendered the whole of the Royal army prisoners to that of the republic. The last position of the British was an intrenched camp on the high ground north of the Fishkill, a small creek which crosses the road into the Hudson, and the surrender took place in a level meadow on the bank of the Fishkill, at the confluence of the two streams.

The other road, which is considerably more circuitous, was the one which I travelled; we passed through Saratoga and Ballston, both famous for their chalybeate springs, the resort of invalids, idlers, and fashionables, from all parts of the United States, and even foreign countries. Ballston springs have been celebrated for upwards of thirty years; Saratoga was then little better than a morass, but within these twelve or fifteen years, its springs have got into great repute, and in the months of July and August it is now not uncommon for it to contain from 1200 to 1500 strangers.

There are upwards of fourteen springs in Saratoga and its neighbourhood, all varying somewhat in their mineral and gaseous impregnation. I drank a tumbler of the water of 'Congress spring,' supplied, from a very neat fountain, by little boys who dip the drinking glasses into

the water.[5] Arriving at Albany, I got on board the Chancellor Livingstone, and after a comfortable voyage reached New York in safety.

I purpose to spend the greater part of the winter in New York, and as my observations must necessarily be of a very miscellaneous nature, not easily admitting of classification, I shall at once dismiss the attempt, and offer them as extracts from my Journal.

Nov. 30th. St. Andrew's day. A broad blue banner is flying from one of the windows of the City Hotel, 'blent with the silver cross, to Scotia dear,' and at half past four I go like a true Scotsman to dine with the St. Andrew's Society of New-York. My heart throbbed high as I passed along Broadway, after breakfast, and saw the national banner waving over the democratic heads of the New Yorkers;—Scotland for ever!

Dec. 1st. I was sadly mortified last night;—a miserably insipid mixture of *Yankeeism* and *Land-of-Cakeism*; neither one nor other, but both spoiled.

At four I repaired with Mr. —— to the hotel; paid five dollars for a ticket, and was introduced in

[5] An annual volume of advertisements, published at Philadelphia in 1822, gives an analysis of the water of each of the springs; the following two are the most celebrated:

Congress Spring, Saratoga, Temperature 50 Deg. Fahr.

One gallon, 231 Cubic inches, contains

Muriate of Soda	471	.5	Grains.
Carbonate of Lime	178	.476	—
—— of Soda	16	.5	—
—— of Magnesia	3	.356	—
—— of Iron	6	.168	—
	676		Gr.

and Carbonic Acid Gas 343 Cubic inches.

Ballston Spring, Temperature 50 Deg. Fahr.

One gallon contains

Muriate of Soda	159		Grains.
Carbonate of Lime	75	.5	—
—— of Soda	9		—
—— of Magnesia	2	.5	—
—— of Iron	7		—
	253		Gr.

and Carbonic Acid Gas, 210 Cubic inches.

due form to the president *pro tempore* of the Society.[6] He and the other office-bearers received their *brither Scots* in the large dancing hall of the hotel; they were conspicuous among the men of the *north countrie*, by broad blue and white collars, from which hung a large medallion of the patron of Scotland.

While dinner was serving in the adjoining room, our national feelings were roused by a brawny limbed son of the mountains, who with the drone of a pair of immense bagpipes under his arm, strutted up and down the hall, braying Scotish airs with all his might. By and by the dinner bell rang, the ample portal was thrown open, and the northern tide flowed in—"The Campbells are coming aho! aho!" The president took post at the convex extremity of a large horse-shoe table, the vice-presidents at either end, and when all had arranged themselves in due order the chaplain of the society, Dr.——, was called upon to officiate. The *gillies* of the hotel, however, had neglected to give the signal in the antichamber, and while the reverend clergyman was raising his voice within, the pipes were still vociferating without, so that the sounds drowned each other and we lost the benefit of both.

As soon as the covers were removed, my eyes ran over the ample board in quest of the barley

[6] The President was at that time in England.

kail, the smoking sheep's head and trotters, the sonsy haggis,

> " Wha's pin wad help to mend a mill,
> In time o' need."

But alas! these national luxuries found no place in the bill of fare; even a solitary fragment of oat meal cake was not to be seen. A sumptuous dinner was before us, but not a solitary dish that was characteristic of our native land.[7] The toasts however I expected would be more commemorative of auld langsyne, and the music exclusively national;—presently some scrapers of catgut, perched in the orchestra, twisted *Yankee Doodle* out of their asthmatic instruments, and scarcely was a Scotish tune given us during the whole evening, whose effect was not immediately neutralized by an American one.

By and by the cloth was removed, and the president gave the word,—'The day, and all that honour it;' which was repeated at right and left by the croupiers, and swallowed with enthusiasm.

[7] On remonstrating afterwards with one of the office-bearers of the society on the inconsistency of such a St. Andrew's dinner, he told me that the cook had tried on one occasion to manufacture a haggis, but that the appetites of the Americo-Scotsmen, had become too refined to relish such fare. They sipped a morsel or two from the point of a tea spoon, and then hollowed out "Waiter, take away *this*." I heard in another quarter that into the said haggis a few raisins had been introduced, as an American improvement; but this I could hardly think possible.

'Scotland the land of our nativity,' 'America the country of our adoption,' followed in due course. 'The President of the United States;' —rather too soon, thought I. 'The King of Great Britain and all friendly powers;' — The King of Great Britain and all friendly powers!— and is it only because he is one of the *friendly powers*, that Scotsmen at a national anniversary drink their good old king's health! It needed the king's anthem, which followed this toast, and would have needed more, to make it palatable. 'The Vice President of the United States, elevated by the voice of a free and intelligent people, to the second situation in the only representative government upon earth.' Och-hon a-ree! Och-hon a-ree! — and are Scotsmen in America so utterly regardless of their native country's renown, that they thus at a St. Andrew's dinner slight the sovereign of the land, and slander its free constitution—the envy and the admiration of the whole world?—and all because the Vice President of the United States, and the Mayor of New York, had *honoured* the Society with their company? Truly such Scotsmen should abjure the name.

The remainder of the entertainment was of a mixed character. Among the multitude of toasts, there were a few that were powerfully calculated to excite and to gratify the national feelings; and in the course of the evening some Scotish songs were sung, which warmed the northern heart. We had

however a laughable proof of the danger of any but Scotsmen meddling with our *Doric* dialect. A young American, the grandson I believe of a Scotsman, on being called upon for a song pled his inability to sing, but volunteered a recitation;—and to evince his partiality for the national bard he announced his choice to be Tam o' Shanter. The young gentleman however soon betrayed his ignorance of Tam's mother tongue, and tortured our ears with the most terrific imitation of the Scotish dialect that ever I heard. It was most amusing to see the involuntary contortion of mouth, that travelled from one northern visage to another, as he told us

> ——— "Ae winter *neet*,
> Tam had got planted unco *reet*;
> Fast by an ingle bleezing *feenly*
> Wi' reaming swats that drank *diveenly!*"

He thought probably that if he made very bad English, he could not miss making very excellent Scots, and bad enough English he certainly did make. Happily he stuck fast about half way through, and we silenced him with a very equivocal thunder of applause. "The nicht drave on wi' sangs and clatter," and about ten I rose from table, not a little mortified at the extremely diluted nationality of some of the Scotsmen of New York.

5th. Fire! Fire! Fire! was echoed through the streets last night, and every bell in the city

rung out its larum peal. Five buildings, all of wood, were burned to the ground. There was another most destructive conflagration in the beginning of the week.

The burning of a stone or brick building, is nothing to that of a wooden one. In the former the roof falls in, and the windows and doors give issue to the flames, but in the latter the whole material of the walls, from the ground to the chimney top, is wrapped in one sheet of fire; the crackling clapboards scale off as their fastenings give way, and discover the log frame of the tenement, consuming, like an immense funeral pile, all that is embraced by it. There is still a considerable portion of the older streets in New York which are entirely of wood. By the fire in the beginning of the week a solid block of buildings surrounded by four intersecting streets was reduced to ashes, and the heat was so intense as to kindle some of the opposite houses.

The management of the fire engines in New York is apparently very efficient, but what can engines do when such a mass of timber is once in flames? There are no less than forty engines, with from eighteen to thirty firemen attached to each. The firemen are all volunteers, and principally young men in the middle rank of life; their only reward is exemption from military and jury duty, which are more considerable privileges here than they would be with us. Every man from 18 to 45 must, unless specially exempted, be enrolled

as a militiaman, and muster even during peace eight days a year for military training. Jury duty is still more oppressive, for police jurisdiction such as exists with us is unknown, and the petty pilferer who twitches your handkerchief from your pocket cannot be punished for it, but on the verdict of a jury.

The signal of fire is the ringing of the church bells and every fireman must, under a heavy penalty, immediately repair to his post. In the event of a false alarm, the roll is called over at the engine house ten minutes after the last bell has ceased to ring, and a fine is incurred for absence. That each at a fire may readily discover his own engine, a lantern is carried on the top of a pole, with the number of the engine conspicuously painted in transparent figures. The firemen wear a frock-coat and trowsers of woollen cloth, covered with thick canvass, and a round cap of very thick leather with a broad rim, somewhat resembling the boarding caps of a man-of-war; within is a thick soft padding to deaden the effect of a blow, and on the outside are two high ridges, crossing each other, to give the cap additional strength. A great deal of rivalry prevails among the various companies, and the young men appear daring even to temerity. Each engine has its own foreman, deputy, and clerk; the companies are independent of each other, but subject to the direction of a chief Engineer, appointed by the city corporation. Notwithstand-

ing of the heavy and harassing duty required of them, there are always abundance of volunteers to supply vacancies, and it sometimes requires a considerable degree of interest to get elected.

9th. Other two fires last night, one of which is said to have destroyed five or six houses.

12th. Snow last night, and a sharp frost this morning. Some sleighs have started, but more apparently for the novelty of the thing than any thing else. The little boys have got small ones in which they draw each other about, and whirl down the steep places of the streets. The sleigh is an open carriage on two runners, shod with iron, exactly like a pair of large skates. They skim along so smoothly that a horse will manage eight or nine miles an hour with great ease. As there is no rattling of wheels, to warn pedestrians of their approach, the horse carries, by law, a row of bells round his neck. The horses it is said are fond of this music, and travel the quicker for it. When the snow is of considerable depth, the public stages are all taken off the wheels, and placed upon runners.

18th. The weather has been for some days past very cold. The Thermometer at seven this morning stood at 8°.

The boarding-house system, which prevails here universally, is in many respects not agreeable. I pay eight dollars a-week, 36s. sterling, for board and lodging. My bed-room contains a small bed, a fragment of carpet, two chairs, a table, looking-

glass, and wash-hand basin, but the apartment, although larger than many that are to be met with, has little more than space for the enumerated articles. For my washing I am charged 6¼ cents, about four pence sterling, *a piece*, that is shirt, neckcloth, nightcap, or pair of stockings, as they may come; and a black boy calls once a day for my boots, which he brushes for a dollar and a half a month; six shillings and nine pence sterling. Breakfast, dinner, and tea, are taken in the common parlour, and both the family and their boarders sit down together. Should I dine out the whole week, there is no abatement of the charge; should I wish a friend or two to dine with me, they must take their places at the public table, and I pay an extra dollar for each. Should the hour of dinner not suit me, on a particular occasion, I must go without, unless by special favour. Liquors of every kind the boarder provides for himself. Should I wish a fire in my bed-room, I lay in my own wood, which is three times as expensive as coals are in Glagsow. Should I wish to read, or write, or have a private hour's chat with a friend, I have no place of retirement but my pigeon-hole dormitory. Should the circle which surrounds the parlour fire in the evening, be dull or disagreeable, still the bed-room is my only refuge.[8]

[8] It may be satisfactory to have a native American's opinion of the boarding-house system. "It is a very great advantage," says Professor Silliman, "compared with the habits of our boarding-

These are some of the *disagreeables* of the system, and the traveller who is but a comer and goer, must put up with the greater part or all of them. There are circumstances however in which a boarding-house may be to a bachelor a very comfortable residence. For instance, when a few young men of sober habits and congenial dispositions get together, and find a landlady whose family is not numerous, and who, appreciating the advantages of quiet and permanent boarders, arranges the domestic system so as to make it as much as possible convenient and satisfactory to all. Several such circles are to be found here; and those who compose them frequently become almost as much attached to each other, as if the landlady, who is generally a widow lady, were the mother, and the boarders her children. In some boarding-houses ladies, as well as gentlemen, are permanent inmates; and very frequently young married people

houses, that in London one can exactly consult his own ability, fancy, and convenience; and you are not obliged at such houses as I have described, *(coffee-houses,)* to call for more wine than you wish to drink, nor indeed for any, if you do not choose to do it. The expense of living very comfortably in London, and with the advantage of a suit of furnished rooms, and your breakfast and tea in them at your own hours, and without intrusion, is not greater than at our first boarding-houses in America, nor indeed so great as at the *very first* houses—and one may manage so as to make it much less. In the mean time you are not encumbered with the gregarious assemblage of persons, with whom you are obliged in our boarding-houses to maintain some conversation, and to whom you and your affairs will become in a degree known. It is true you miss also

do not think of any other residence, till their increasing family makes a private establishment more desirable.

House-keeping is very expensive, particularly in the item of rent. A comfortable lodging of six or eight apartments cannot be had, except in the outskirts of the city, for less than from 800 to 1000 dollars a year, including the city taxes; £180 to £225 sterling. A boarding-house has recently been opened in Broadway, the landlady of which pays the enormous rent of 3000 dollars; £675. It is to be sure a large building, and in a favourable situation, but it is more than three times the rent which such a house would bring in Glasgow or Edinburgh. The wages of domestics are also very high, and good servants are not easily to be got. Black ones are most common, but not universal; we have a very active and very civil white girl in our boarding-house. Fire-wood as I have

some opportunities of information, and some interesting interviews; these however are not entirely precluded in English houses; you may, without being considered intrusive, seek conversation with those whom you casually meet at the coffee-houses."

Mr. S. is still more explicit in his remarks on his Edinburgh lodgings. "Boarding is here and in London almost unknown, and in the few instances in which it exists, is scarcely a comfortable or respectable mode of living, but nothing except the comfort of a well regulated family of one's own, can be more desirable than the method of living which I have described; any person who has once adopted it, will return with extreme reluctance, to the habits of an American boarding-house." *Silliman's Travels in England, &c. 3d Edit. Vol. III. pp.* 104 *and* 173.

already noticed is very high, and so are coals, which are in general brought from Liverpool or Greenock.

In most other particulars household expenses are moderate, butcher meat 3d. or 4d. sterling a pound, fowls about eighteen pence a pair; bread, vegetables, and butter in proportion. French wines are cheap, so is brandy; Madeira is rather dearer but is very generally used; very good Port and rum are scarcely to be had. Tea is about 3s. 6d. sterling a pound, but cheap as it is I have scarcely tasted a cup of good tea since I left home. They use almost nothing but green, and that is given you miserably thin, and with milk almost as blue as that of London.

The markets are large, and amply furnished with every thing that is good. It is common as with us for gentlemen to make purchases for the family table, but they carry their complaisance a step farther than we do, for they frequently also carry home what they provide. I have seen a merchant, worth according to report ten to twenty thousand pounds sterling, dangling a raw steak through the streets, between his finger and thumb; and the other morning I met a worthy clergyman, whose name is extensively known in our native country, stalking along Broadway swinging the carcass of an immense turkey in his hand.

19th. Dined with Mr. —— at Tammany Hall. On one occasion here we had roasted bear's flesh

as one of the dishes at table; it tasted very much like roasted goose, but heavier. Tammany Hall is one of the public hotels, and noted for the public meetings of the democratic party, or Bucktails,[9] as they are called. Like the other hotels it is the residence of a good many permanent boarders; some of them merchants of considerable wealth, who sit down every day at the public table. The inn is with us proverbially the traveller's home, but here it is the home of a great many besides travellers. This feature in the American system I cannot admire; nor can I imagine what comfort there can be amidst the bustle and noise of a public tavern, or in smoking segars and drinking spirits and water in the bar-room.

The dinner hour at Tammany Hall is three o'clock, and covers are every day set for from thirty to eighty. The resident boarders are generally found at the upper end of the table, and the travellers farther down. They take their seats at the sound of the dinner bell, and in little more than a quarter of an hour most of them are ready to leave the table. During dinner rum and water is the usual beverage; few take wine unless they are entertaining a friend. The dinner is always excellent, combining every variety of substantial cheer with a plentiful allowance of the delicacies of the season. After dinner three or four may

[9] From their wearing the tail of a buck in their hats at an annual festivity.

occasionally linger singing songs and smoking segars over a bottle of wine, but the practice is by no means general. Americans spend little time at table, retiring very soon either to their business, or the bar-room to read the newspapers. Boarding is moderate at Tammany Hall; Mr. —— tells me that he pays eight dollars a-week, while some of the more fashionable private boarding-houses charge ten or twelve, and the inmates are moreover by usage almost necessitated to drink wine during dinner. For economy of time and money, retirement, and freedom from temptation, the system of private lodgings, as in our native country, is decidedly preferable to either the one or the other.

21st. Spent the greater part of the day in writing home, and in the evening called and took tea in Mr. ——'s. After tea several gentlemen called one after another. This is a prevalent practice in New York, and is an agreeable and unceremonious way of visiting, if mere visiting were worth the sacrifice of time which it occasions. As soon as tea is over, most families, particularly if there are young ladies in them, prepare to receive visitors. The street doors in general open from without, with an ordinary latch, and all who are on terms of tolerable intimacy with the family walk in without ceremony. Shaking of hands is not at all in fashion, the visitors bow to the ladies, and seat themselves. The ordinary topics of conversation are discussed in the usual way; a servant hands

round a few nuts or apples, and in a little the callers take their leave as abruptly as they entered. In a family circle at tea, a servant generally attends to carry round the cups; the voluntary attentions of the gentlemen, which are so common in Scotland, would be thought exceedingly vulgar here.

22d. Paid a visit of congratulation to Mr. —— who has been married during my absence in Canada. The young couple do not keep house, but live in the family of the lady's father. This custom, like that of living in a boarding-house, is here very common. In place of becoming at once the master of his own house, the young husband *draws in his chair* at his father-in-law's fireside, and is content, frequently for years, to live as a lodger; his wife and he sitting as guests at the side of the table. It is all very well to have a father-in-law so much disposed to be friendly, and it would doubtless be very agreeable to spend occasionally an afternoon in his family, but to have no other home must surely be a most uncomfortable thing, and connected with sacrifices to which I should be very unwilling to submit. Were I married I should be disposed to have a house which I could call my own, and use as my own, even although it should be a very small one.

23d. The New York newspapers are like our own filled with lottery puffs, and 'Lucky Office' stares you in the face in every street. The pre-

valence of this licensed gambling in the United States is an evil token of the state of the public mind. We cannot indeed say that we are clean in this matter, so long as our Chancellor of the Exchequer has recourse to the same dishonourable expedient, in the ways and means of every year, but if we have one licensed lottery, we have but one; here are lotteries for almost every purpose; —for making roads, for building bridges, for erecting public buildings, for endowing universities, and would you believe it? for building churches! Indeed the pretexts for lotteries are as numerous as the demands for money, and the legislatures of many of the States scarcely ever assemble without authorizing some new ones, and thus virtually passing acts to promote avarice, dishonesty, unthriftiness, and a numerous train of inseparable vices. The following is quoted from an act of the Maryland legislature, passed in the spring of this year, "*A supplement to an act, entitled an act to regulate lotteries.* And be it enacted, that the lottery for the benefit of the university of Maryland, and the Fell's Point Masonic Hall lottery, and the lottery for raising a sum of money to buy a lot of ground in Frederickstown, in Frederick county, and build a church and parsonage house thereon, be, and the same are, excepted from the provisions of an act, entitled an act to regulate lotteries."

They have what they call a 'Literature Lottery' in New York, going on regularly from year to year,

and the price of tickets, and divisions of tickets, is so small as to be within the reach of almost the poorest classes. A trial has recently taken place, in which it has been proved that some very unfair dealing had occurred at the drawing of a lottery; some of the managers it seems had found means to arrange, when and by whom the higher prizes should be drawn!

Another and a greater abomination, in the newspapers, are the advertisements of Slaves for Sale. These are not indeed frequent in the New York papers, although occasionally to be seen; but in those to the south they are numerous and revolting. A few days ago one of the papers here advertised, "For Sale, an excellent servant, 26 years old, *with or without a child six months old;*" and the following I copy *verbatim ac literatim*, from a Baltimore paper:—

"A FAMILY OF NEGROES FOR SALE.

"For sale, a negro MAN and his WIFE with their FOUR CHILDREN. The man is about fifty years of age, and has been accustomed to work on a farm. His eldest son about twenty, is a stout active fellow, and has been brought up to the same employment. The woman, aged forty-three, is an excellent plain cook and laundress. They have a daughter aged thirteen, a son ten, and a little girl of four years old. It would be preferred to sell the whole family to one person, or in the same neighbourhood. Security will be required for not sending them out of the State of Maryland. To avoid unnecessary trouble, it may be mentioned that the price is two thousand dollars (£450 sterling) for the whole family. For farther particulars enquire at this office."

The averment in the Declaration of Independence

that 'all men are born free and equal,' has been so frequently quoted against the Americans, that it has now become in some measure stale. Apologists for slavery among them may sophisticate as they please, but it is grossly inconsistent with the great charter of the nation; the very essence of which is that bondage in every form, in every degree, and in every circumstance, is repugnant to the plainest principles of reason and of equity. Its existence is a broad and a foul blot on the national character; and this should be unceasingly repeated in their ears, till the stain is washed away. It is common for them to cry out against the copying of such advertisements as the above, as if it were either unfair or without use; but it is neither; it may make some ingenuous American blush at the aspect which his country presents to British eyes, and while we recollect how much individual exertion availed, to abolish the slave trade in Britain, we cannot but feel that even one conscientious, and resolute, and persevering citizen of the United States, may do much to effect a corresponding change in the domestic system of his native country.

It would be unjust to forget, that the introduction of slavery into America was in opposition to the wishes of the early colonists; and therefore that neither as colonists nor as independent states, were they answerable for its getting among them. But for this they are answerable, that while they threw off the yoke of Great Britain, they did not break the

more odious, and far more oppressive bonds, with which they themselves held others in subjection; and that to this day, while a few of the States have enacted laws for the gradual abolition of domestic servitude, and some have already effected it, in many others slavery is cherished with the most resolute determination, and every attempt to ameliorate the condition or remove the ignorance of the negroes, is steadily and systematically resisted.

The abolition of slavery in a country where it has obtained a considerable footing, must of course be a very gradual measure. To emancipate at once a million and a half of ignorant creatures, whose minds, as well as bodies, have been hitherto in a state of the most abject vassalage, would be to sign the death warrant of the greater part of them; and to put in most imminent hazard the lives and properties of their recent masters. But though emancipation must be gradual, it should be regarded as in every point of view absolutely necessary; and it ought to be the anxious and unremitting care of the national Congress, that measures to effect it be speedily and heartily adopted, and perseveringly pursued. Were the American government to show an honest desire for the eradication of this taint, accompanied by strenuous efforts to accomplish it, the existence of slavery would for the present cease to be a ground of reproach; and none would more cordially wish well to such philanthropic exertions, than those who are loudest in the reprobation of the present sys-

tem. But till such measures are instituted, the country has no claim upon our forbearance.[10]

The first step towards emancipation is doubtless to instruct the negroes, and particularly their children. A no less necessary measure is to relax the odious laws which now exist, as to the power of a master over his slaves. At present a slave cannot give evidence in a court of justice against a free man; and the master has an almost unrestrained

[10] Americans of candour, as the following extract shows, hesitate not to acknowledge and lament the gross inconsistency of a free people harbouring slavery among them. "You will occasionally meet in the streets of London," says Professor Silliman, "genteel young ladies, walking with their half-brothers or more commonly with their nephews, born in India, who possess in a very strong degree, the black hair, small features, delicate form, and brown complexion of the native Hindus. These young men are received into society, and take the rank of their fathers. I confess the fact struck me rather unpleasantly. It would seem that the prejudice against colour is less strong in England than in America; for the few negroes found in this country are in a condition much superior to that of their countrymen any where else. A black footman is considered as a great acquisition, and consequently negro servants are sought for and caressed. An ill dressed or starving negro is never seen in England, and in some instances even alliances are formed between them and white girls of the lower orders of society. A few days since I met in Oxford Street a well dressed white girl, who was of a ruddy complexion and ever handsome, walking arm in arm and conversing very sociably with a negro man, who was as well dressed as she, and so black that his skin had a kind of ebony lustre. As there are no slaves in England, perhaps the English have not learned to regard negroes as a degraded class of men, as we do in the United States, where we have never seen them in any other condition. It is true that in our eastern and middle states, and in all those north of the river Ohio, there are few or

power over his life.[11] The right of selling slaves ought to be placed under great restriction, and some of the more cruel features of the system altogether removed; such as the power of separating a husband and wife, from each other and from their children. The tribe of kidnappers ought to be visited with the most signal punishment; and all the legal quirks and uncertainties which at present aid their nefarious acts, and screen them from justice, effectually

no slaves, and the emancipated blacks in many instances rise to the possession of property and of some personal respectability, but probably it will never be possible to blend them by intermarriage with the whites. After all that we say, and with much truth, of the superiority of our country over others in civil liberty, it is a foul dishonour, it is a crying iniquity, it is a most glaring inconsistency, that we tolerate slavery. Other nations throw back into our face this dreadful opprobium, to which we must submit in the silence of conscious guilt and disgrace: while England deeply guilty, in having first introduced slavery among us when we were her colonies—in still sustaining it in the West Indies, and in having so long sustained the slave trade which she has at last prohibited—formerly oppressive in her attempts to subjugate us—still oppressive in her sway over the devoted millions of Asia—but proudly consistent at home, suffers no slave to contaminate her own European domain; the slave no sooner touches her shores and breathes her atmosphere, than his chains fall from his limbs, and he exults in the consciousness of liberty."—*Silliman's Travels in England, &c. 3d Edit. Vol. I. pp.* 271—3.

[11] A newspaper which I received from America since my return home, contained an advertisement offering a reward of fifty dollars for a runaway slave, *or for his head!*—and in the most ferocious language intimating that the latter would be more acceptable than the former. It added that a court of *justice* had legalized the infliction of death on the poor wretch, by any person whatever. (1822.)

removed.[12] Just now free blacks can scarcely walk the streets of New York or Philadelphia, in the evening, without the danger of falling into the talons of these miscreants, who too frequently find means by force or fraud to carry them off to the south.

After these and similar abatements have been made in the peculiar aggravations of American slavery, it may be hoped that a few years' patient and sincere exertion, might pave the way to an enactment of a similar law for the whole Union, to that which is now in operation in the State of New York; namely, that all born after a definite period should be free, and those born before that period on attaining to a certain age. Till some measure of this

[12] I copy the following from a Baltimore paper of September 1822, and it serves to expose a few of the many legalized cruelties which are inflicted even on the free blacks. It is a narrative of the proceedings of a court to which two negroes had applied for protection, from some slave traders who had attempted to carry them off to New Orleans. "The other two cases were those of two negro men, one of whom had been manumitted by a Mr Eliason in Cecil county in 1809. The other it appeared had been acting as a free man in Delaware, for several years, although whether he was actually freed before he was brought from the State, it did not clearly appear; but whether so or not, he had become entitled to his freedom by being exported from the State. These two men it appeared had been indicted for burglary in Delaware, but on trial were acquitted by the jury. It appears that by the laws of Delaware, if a man is indicted for felony and acquitted by a jury, he may nevertheless, upon a certificate of probable cause, *be condemned by the court to pay the costs, and if unable to pay them, may be sold as a servant for their payment.* If this is not the *ne plus ultra* of oppression and tyranny, I know not where it can be found. That a man should be imprisoned and indicted for an offence of

kind is adopted by the general government, the nation must be esteemed guilty of voluntarily cherishing this most abominable system. They cannot shelter themselves from this ignominy, by talking of the difficulty of getting rid of it, or by imputing the blame of its existence to those who were the masters of America a hundred years ago;—[13]

"He who allows oppression, shares the crime!"

The United States have like ourselves abolished the foreign trade in slaves. But a general belief prevails here that the law is frequently eluded, and that slaves are still smuggled into the southern States. The profits are well known to be so enormous, that

which he has not been guilty, and afterwards sold as a servant to pay the cost of his prosecution, does appear to be the climax of injustice. Yet such is the law of Delaware, and under this law the two men in question were sold for seven years, and were on their way to New Orleans. Every man can judge for himself of the likelihood of their being released, at the end of seven years, in Louisiana. Their petitions for freedom were sustained by the court; although the court said the defendant was entitled to their services during the period for which they had been sold by order of the court of Delaware, but they should not be permitted to take them out of the State."

Here is a poor fellow tried by a jury and acquitted, but by authority of the court sold as a slave for seven years to pay the expenses of the trial, and a second court sanctions and enforces the inhuman sentence!—who would have believed such a thing of the "land of liberty."

[13] As little can they extenuate their shame by reminding Britain of her West India colonies. The North American Reviewer who has attempted to do so, in the analysis of Walsh's Appeal, is quite aware that the colonies are but very partially under the control of the

if one cargo out of three is saved the adventure cannot fail to be a profitable one.[14]

But besides those who embark in this traffic, it is notorious that many Americans are engaged in the trade to Havannah. Travelling from Philadelphia to Baltimore, in August last, I met with a fellow in the stage who did not scruple to avow that he was the master of a slave ship, and that he had just conveyed a cargo from the coast of Africa to Havannah. He talked with the most hardened apathy of his miserable victims, and said they were "much obliged to him for the change." Nor did he make

body of the British nation, that they are in fact excrescences on the political system, which cannot be easily brought under the same healthful regulations with the parent country; but he knows also that much has been done by the Imperial Parliament to restrain and lessen the evils of colonial slavery, and that its ultimate abolition is the object which the people of Great Britain keep steadily in view, as the fruit of their patient exertions. It was uncandid of the reviewer to say that "all the colonies of England are stocked with slaves," he knows well that this is not the fact,—to go no farther off than Canada, where will he find one there? (1822.)

Since the preceding sentences were written, the House of Commons has solemnly pledged itself to the abolition of colonial slavery; both sides of the houses uniting to denounce it, as utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the British Constitution, and the feeling of the British nation. This is indeed "noble," and makes one exult in the name of a Briton. It was fitting that so honourable an example should be given, by that assembly which first abolished the nefarious traffic in human flesh; soon may the American Congress follow the illustrious example. (1823.)

[14] Since the period alluded to the slave trade has by the United States been declared piracy, and in all probability violations of the prohibition are less likely to occur. (1822.)

any secret of his plans; laughing at the facility with which he "cleared out at the Custom House for a cargo of gold dust and ivory, and in place of them brought back *apes*." That this brute in human shape ventured among strangers in a public carriage to avow his diabolical trade, proves of itself a lamentable state of public feeling; in Britain no one would have dared to do so.

The demoralizing effect of slavery upon the white population is very apparent. The mere reading of such advertisements as have been quoted,[15] must have a most pernicious effect upon the minds of the young; and to hear the style in which judicious, and even humane people, speak of negroes, has often struck me with amazement. In place of looking upon them as objects of peculiar sympathy, they too often seem to regard them as really an inferior race, and by no possibility capable of assimilation to the character or dignity of a white man; even when they have the candour to condemn their own conduct in so treating them, there are not many who can so far overcome their hereditary and youthful prejudices as to act otherwise.[16] It is but too true

[15] A New York paper of November, 1822, in reference to a horse-race about to take place at Washington says—"The bets are immensely heavy. We have heard of one bet tendered on Sir Charles, of 800 negroes, valued at 300 dollars each!"

[16] Mr Walsh in his "Appeal from the judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States," repels with much indignation the assertions quoted from Fearon's "Sketches," that "free blacks are ex-

that many of the free negroes are idle and profligate; but after having been treated and spoken to from their infancy as *black rascals*, it would be astonishing indeed if a considerable proportion of them did not ultimately turn out so. Many pious people, however, are now exerting themselves with considerable zeal for their instruction; a great many negroes of all ages attend the Sunday Schools, and I have lately seen in one room about sixty black men at the spelling book and Bible. Some of these poor fellows were old, and their heads, like Outalissi's, were

"—— white as Appalachia's snow;"

—to witness them poring through spectacles at the spelling books, and to hear them after being prompted by their patient instructors, eagerly replying, "Now, Sir, I think I shall manage it this time!" was a truly cheering sight.

cluded from places of public worship frequented by the whites;" that "the most degraded white will not walk or eat with a negro," and that they "are practically slaves." That blacks are not absolutely excluded from places of worship, I have already oftener than once noticed; but they are uniformly restricted to a remote division of pews, and I never in any place saw a person with the slightest tinge of colour mix with the white part of the congregation. As to the second assertion I can only say, that I never saw a white and a black man either walking or eating together, nor ever heard of such a thing; on the contrary, I have every reason to believe that the affirmation is substantially correct. As to the last, the expression is no doubt strong, but in the restricted import of it there is too much truth, namely that the blacks are always treated as an inferior and

Some benevolent individuals have for some time been engaged in attempting to form a colony of free blacks, on some part of the African coast; in the hope of thus carrying away from America the whole, or a greater part, of those who are emancipated. I am afraid that the attempt will be ultimately abortive; and this is the more probable, that a large proportion of the blacks are disinclined to it themselves.[17] But supposing a considerable number to be fairly landed in Africa, what is to protect so ignorant and helpless a community from external foes or internal dissention? Unless the United States send a garrison along with them, and this they are not likely to do, the probability is that they will be pounced upon with eagerness by the native chiefs, or by the foreign traders in blood. The more considerate part of the community have already begun to doubt the practicability of the measure,[18] but an attempt has been made, and experience must prove the result.

degraded race. This qualified corroboration of Mr. Fearon's statements on *one subject*, will not I trust be construed into a general agreement with his strictures on American manners.

[17] It is said that the African Society of Boston, one of whose festivals I have commemorated, at their annual dinner in 1820, toasted the projector of the measure in the following significant style:—"Mr Clay and our coloured brethren, if he wants them to go, why does he not go himself?"

[18] "We are convinced, "says the North American Review, "that even supposing the colony to be successfully established, the difficulties are not overcome; every scheme of colonization, if it do not act

I have not been far enough south, to say much from personal observation of the treatment which slaves experience from their owners. For this it would have been necessary to have visited the cotton, rice, and tobacco plantations; to have seen slavery where masters act without the powerful restraint of public opinion. In a private family in which I lived for a short time, there was a female slave, but she was treated, so far as I could see, with as much kindness as our servants at home.

23d. A trial took place a few days ago at Baltimore, which has excited considerable interest. The defendant was a man of the name of Taylor, who has been in some way connected with the fitting out of vessels of war, in that port, for the ostensible purpose of aiding the patriots of South America. I believe that the prosecution was instituted through the influence of the Spanish ambassador; but it has resulted in such a way as to injure rather than benefit his cause. This is a free country, and it is not easy to prevent liberty from degenerating occasionally into licentiousness. The newspapers have been filled with the most ridiculous rhodomontade, in their account of the trial, and the

as a bounty on the multiplication of blacks, can have no effect in diminishing their numbers in this country. The inevitable tendency of colonization will be that which is so much deplored in poor laws, that of being regarded as a resource and provision for a certain amount of blacks, and thus directly encouraging their increase."—*North American Review, No. XXVIII. pp.* 16, 17.

speeches of the counsel. The following is by a Philadelphia editor:—

"The trial of Commodore Taylor is just over—The jury found him *not guilty* under every count in the indictment. Perhaps no prosecution ever was instituted so utterly destitute of foundation, as was this accusation for piracy. The verdict of the jury was received with acclamations more honourable to the feelings of a large audience, than becoming a court of justice. Mr. Galloway, who was in England, and listened to the famous speeches of Burke and Chatham, in the time of the American Revolution, declared that he had never heard any thing comparable to that of Mr. Pinkney in support of the contested validity of Taylor's commission."

This is modesty itself however to what follows by a Baltimore scribe:—

"Mr. Pinkney rose at half past ten to address the court, on the inadmissibility of introducing the mention of captures not contained in the indictment. To convey an adequate idea of this masterly performance, would require talents far beyond what we possess, and almost equal to those of that distinguished lawyer himself. There is in the eloquence of Mr. Pinkney a majesty and force which baffle the power of analysis, and lead us captive in the chains of admiration. Expectation was high on Saturday; it was understood that he would speak, and the court-room was filled at an early hour. It was known he would be great, for he is always so; but not satisfied with that, he surpassed himself, and evinced a superhuman mind. His legal knowledge, his close reasoning, his oratorical powers, his general information, all were wonderful. Mr. Pinkney has perfectly at command the *ardentia verba;* his enunciation is uniformly chaste, classic and forcible. Of him it may with truth be said, he communicates his sentiments

"——— in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant at his tales;
And younger hearings are quite ravished,
So sweet and voluble is his discourse."

The editor of the New York Daily Advertiser,—a paper characterized by more good sense, and correct principle, than are to be found in nine tenths of those that are published,—makes the following judicious remarks on this inflated stuff.

"We doubt whether there is a country in the world that raises such a multitude of astonishingly great men as ours. We have no doubt, taking newspaper accounts as the rule of decision, we should find in the course of a single year, in various parts of the United States, not less than a score or two of 'superhuman minds;' accompanied by most or all the supernatural qualities which in the preceding paragraph, are ascribed to the gentleman mentioned therein."

A great many of the American newspapers are edited by men of very inferior talents and acquirements, and are by no means a correct index either to the sentiments or to the abilities of society at large. Perhaps this has in a great degree arisen from the difference between an American paper and a British one. With us they are principally the vehicles of political news, disquisition, and debate; and the success of the paper depends partly on the editor's political sentiments, but chiefly upon his literary talent, and general information. In America, the newspapers are frequently mere lists of commercial advertisements, which usually occupy from three fourths to four fifths of the sheet. There is no tax either upon advertisements

or papers, and the number of advertisers is therefore enormous. With us the editor depends for the principal power of attraction on his own head; and gives us in his leading article a comprehensive abstract of the news of the day, with some criticisms on causes, and anticipation of consequences. In America the most attractive of the literary department, even to natives, consists of extracts from the London and Liverpool papers, headed in large capitals, *Latest from England;* the editor's own article is frequently a heterogeneous mass, without beginning, middle, or end, and often without reference to news of any kind; the debates in Congress are given merely in detached and ill-assorted scraps, and the remainder of the paper is filled with squabbles about local politics, and city grievances. It is obvious therefore that to conduct a paper here, is a much less arduous effort than at home; and as there are generally ten times as many in a given space, it is to be expected that the greater number will be in a literary point of view quite beneath criticism.

What has been stated accounts, in some measure, for the absurdities which abound in some American papers with regard to our native country; although it must at the same time be acknowledged, that they have had abundant provocation on our part. A few of the more respectable journals, honouring the British nation as a free, enlightened, and moral people, hesitate not to award us that respect and

gratitude, which America owes to the source of all that is estimable in her national character, or valuable in her political system; and while they temperately criticise our errors, candidly acknowledge their own. But the greater proportion of the democratic papers, which form a large majority of the whole, making it their trade to pander to the prejudices, and foster the antipathies, of the most ignorant of their countrymen, keep no terms with us either in one thing or another. They can see nothing in Britain but deformity; moral, mercantile, political, and religious. Our King is a despot, our people slaves, our parliament the ready tools of tyranny. Waking and sleeping their minds are haunted with the idea that we are their natural and implacable foes, and they scarcely ever make an observation upon their own country, without converting it into a text for abusing ours.[19]

[19] A Richmond paper extracting a few paragraphs from Dr. Chalmers's Sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte, introduces them with the following precious morsel of criticism. "Take from the following the vein of *loyalty* (a *loyalty* as ridiculous, as abhorrent to common sense, as it is to the best understood dispensations of the Christian religion;) and there still remains eloquence enough, (fervent [*q. fervid?*] and affecting eloquence,) to entitle the passage to a place in an American republican paper." A Maryland paper announcing newly published 'Regulations for the United States' Navy,' inscribes a *hic jacet* on that of Britain. "It is only in fighting the battles of *freemen*, that we either hope or expect to see the navy of the United States carry along with it the hearts of the people; and without that support, whatever transient glory it may acquire, like the wooden walls of Old England it must finally

The personalities, which too frequently abound in the American papers, form another distinguishing feature. The editors write in the singular number, and abuse each other by name;[20] while

decay and perish." One of the leading journals at Washington, in replying to some remarks which had been made on the inconsistency of the gorgeous decorations of the Capitol and the President's House, with the plainness of republican principles, says, that as a celebrated English divine had expressed his regret, that all the finest tunes should be monopolized "in the service of the devil," so they could not help being indignant, that architectural magnificence and grandeur were hitherto "no where to be found, but in the abodes of slaves and tyrants." A Philadelphia paper says, "Our country is the only one upon the face of the earth, where a rational and genuine liberty exists; where the voice of the people is listened to and obeyed." A Baltimore editor, alluding to a Life of Bonaparte that some ingenious citizen had published, gives a sample of his knowledge of modern times by gravely assuring his readers, that "the whole history of this man's life, up to the 28th [18th] June, on which day the battle of Waterloo took place, was a continued and uninterrupted series of good fortune." I quote these absurdities from no unfriendly feeling towards America, and I readily grant that passages quite as ridiculous in reference to America, may be selected from British journals, even of high reputation; but in writing as to facts, I must state them as they really are.

[20] The following reply, from one New York editor to another, is a specimen of this warfare; it is somewhat singular that in this instance the name of the antagonist is not given *totidem literis*.

"In the ——— of this morning is an insinuation, which I consent to notice, merely on account of those friends who live at a distance. It is an insinuation that I am given to intemperance, and is a thrice repeated calumny in the same paper. I am afflicted with a growing, and, I believe, an incurable weakness in my knees, which commenced two or three years since, and often produces an unsteadiness of gait; this bodily infirmity, the humane and generous and veracious editor has not been above representing as a deformity of mind,

opponents in state or city politics, throw mud at all around them without measure or remorse.[21]

After all, in judging of American newspapers, we must keep in mind that it is only within these thirty or forty years, that those at home have been distinguished by great literary talent; and that it is to Woodfall, Junius, Perry, and a few such men, that we in a great measure owe their towering state of excellence. Even these distinguished individuals, could not have accomplished in America what they accomplished at home; neither the political institutions nor the state of society would have admitted of it.

Perhaps as a sequel to these rambling remarks on newspapers, a few words may not be inappropriate on the sentiments which prevail in America with regard to our native country; and I know not

proceeding from an odious and degrading vice; but to which I venture to say, no person, however inimical, including himself, ever suspected me to be in the slightest possible degree addicted. If it is thought that I ought to have treated this slander with silent scorn, I answer, I should have done so, if the cold blooded calumny were confined in its circulation to the quarter in which I reside." *New York Paper, Nov. 21st. 1822.*

[21] Candour requires the humiliating confession, that this is no longer peculiar to American newspapers. Our own periodical literature has, of late years, been disgraced by the intrusion of journals, established, as it would seem, for scarcely any other purpose, than that of dealing out the most atrocious slanders, and the most disgusting personal abuse. The editors of these seem to have no idea, of the fearful responsibility which talents and acquirements carry with them, for the use to which they are applied.

how I can introduce these better than by an extract from a biographical sketch of our townsman, the elegant author of the Pleasures of Hope, written by a gentleman of New York.[22]

"Whatever may be the occasional collisions of etiquette and interest, which will inevitably take place between two great commercial nations, whose property and people are spread far and wide on the face of the ocean; whatever may be the clamorous expressions of hostility vented at such times by our unreflecting populace, or rather uttered in their name by a host of hireling scribblers, who pretend to speak the sentiments of the people; it is certain that the well educated and well informed class of our citizens, entertain a deep-rooted good will and a rational esteem for Great Britain. It is almost impossible it should be otherwise. Independent of those hereditary affections, which spring up spontaneously for the nation from whence we have descended, the single circumstance of imbibing our ideas from the same authors has a powerful effect in causing an attachment.

"The writers of Great Britain are the adopted citizens of our country, and though they have no

[22] This elegant and highly interesting specimen of biographical narrative, is an early production of Mr. Washington Irving's; it is prefixed to a neat pocket edition of Campbell's Poetical Works, published at Philadelphia in 1815, and it is sufficient to add, that it is every way worthy of the author of the Sketch Book. So far as the author knows, it has never yet appeared from a British press.

legislative voice, exercise an authority over our opinions and affections, cherished by long habit, and matured by affection. In these works we have British valour, British magnanimity, British might, and British wisdom, continually before our eyes, portrayed in the most captivating colours; and are thus brought up in the constant contemplation of all that is amiable and illustrious in the British character. To these works likewise we resort, in every varying mood of mind or vicissitude of fortune. They are our delight in the hour of relaxation, the solemn monitors and instructors of our closet, our comforters in the gloomy seclusions of life-loathing despondency. In the season of early life, in the strength of manhood, and still in the weakness or apathy of age, it is to them we are indebted for our hours of refined and unalloyed enjoyment. When we turn our eyes to England, therefore, from whence this bounteous tide of literature flows in upon us, it is with such feelings as the Egyptian experiences, when he looks towards the sacred source of that stream, which rising in a far distant country, flows down upon his own barren soil, diffusing riches, beauty and fertility."

What could the most jealous stickler for his country's honour wish more than this? What kindliness of feeling could he desire towards it, which this does not display? Of this testimony of Campbell's biographer, I can add my unqualified corroboration; and I can safely go even farther

than he has done. He alludes to Britain chiefly in its literary character, but by that large and respectable class of American citizens, whose good will and esteem it is of most importance to enjoy, Britain is no less honoured as the fountain head of civil liberty, and, in a certain sense, the well spring of religious knowledge. They look upon Britain as that sacred spot of earth, where the fetters of mental tyranny were first effectually broken; and from which light of the purest kind has emanated to a benighted world. I have mingled with Americans of all classes, and of almost all professions; I have heard them speak their minds spontaneously and without restraint, and I can without hesitation say, that there are few, whose good opinion is worth having, who do not unite in good will towards the people of my native country.[23] Doubtless a con-

[23] Notwithstanding the strong and universal attachment of Americans to their republican constitution, and notwithstanding their enthusiastic anticipations of future glory resulting from this as the efficient cause, those who dispassionately reflect, and honestly express their opinion, make no difficulty in acknowledging that the experiment is still immature, and that it would be wrong as yet to pronounce upon the absolute superiority of the American constitution. A few lines from the North American Review will be sufficient, to show the manly candour and liberality with which the subject is treated.

"For ourselves," say the Reviewers, "we profess that we think the English frame of government better adapted to its object, than any of which the world has yet had full experience. We now consider our own constitutions as out of the question; whatever may be our opinion of them, and however encouraging may be the

siderable degree of soreness exists, at the illiberal treatment which America has received from a certain class of British writers; and also some degree of impatience at the credulity with which their libellous absurdities have been received; but they are generally well aware, that a great degree of ignorance prevails among us as to their real character, and it does not need much to persuade them, that were they better known, they would be more generally respected.

Some of our own countrymen, indeed, are the bitterest enemies that Britain has, in this part of the western world. I quarrel not with a man who emigrates to another clime, whatever be the motive that impels him, so long as he treats with a moderate degree of candour the institutions and

promise they hold forth, we do not consider them as yet sufficiently tried, to be brought into comparison with those which have stood the test of ages." *North American Review, No. XXXIII. p.* 359.

"The felicity of England," says the same journal, "consists, not in the superior virtue of the citizens, but in the admirable adaptation of her government to the nature and wants of men. The glory of the English arms, does not arise from the superior physical bravery of her soldiers over those of any other nation. There are brave men and cowards in all armies. But the English soldier knows that the performance of his duty offers him a surer and richer reward, than could be derived from the most successful criminal enterprize. English politicians are probably not more sincere than those of other nations, but such is the force of public opinion, that the demagogue to gain his ends must act the patriot. It is the excellence of the English government, to have done better than any other in Europe, all that the best government can do, namely, to make the bad, as well as the good qualities of its subjects, subservient to the public.

the people which he left behind; but I have little charity for those who turn with all the virulence of renegadoes to traduce the land which gave them birth, and almost invoke the wrath of Heaven upon its civil and social interests. I have had discussions with native Americans upon almost every political subject that was likely to occasion diversity of opinion; I have talked with many of those who were personally engaged in the conflicts of last war, and with some who lost the whole of their property in the ravages which it occasioned, but all discussed the subjects with good temper, almost all with candour, and some even with a degree of friendliness to the British side, which I could not have expected;—but from a naturalized Scotsman or Irishman, who had imbibed democratic principles,

This trait has been so well defined by a late French traveller in England, that we shall be excused for using his words. 'England, after all, is the only country in the world, where chance perhaps, as much as human wisdom, compounding with the vices and virtues of our species, has effected a treaty between them, assigning to each their respective and proper shares, and framed its political constitution, on the constitution of human nature.' We cannot, however, agree in allowing this praise exclusively to the government of England; we believe it to be the characteristic of all free governments." *North American Review, No. XXXVI. p.* 54.

Such fair and honourable treatment, from the only literary journal which has yet obtained the general support and confidence of the American nation, ought to make us ashamed of the ungenerous and illiberal manner, in which their country and government have been so often handled by some of our periodical writers. The day is surely coming when the British public will refuse to allow their good sense to be so flagrantly insulted.

and who fairly gave vent to his sentiments and feelings, I never heard aught but the most unmeasured abuse and misrepresentation of Britain and all that belongs to it.

A clergyman of New York, during last war, preached a series of discourses to his congregation, for the express purpose of justifying the war, and stimulating the people to a more lively co-operation with government in the invasion of Canada, and in the various other hostile operations. These discourses were delivered to overflowing audiences, and when finished, the author, 'to serve' as he assures us in his advertisement 'the cause of humanity, of his country, and of his God, consented to give them to the public.' We have heard much of the Indian war-whoop, and of the savage fury with which they rush upon their prey, but there could scarcely be a war-whoop more unrelenting and vindictive than that which is sounded in these War Sermons. The British government is denounced as 'a despotic usurpation;' every species of wickedness, civil, moral, and ecclesiastical is heaped upon its head; and the preacher exclaims with horror and amazement, "O my God and my Redeemer, to such a monarchy, with all its impious usurpation of the rights of God, do any of thy disciples profess an attachment? Ah how frail a thing is man!" My eyes are as open as this reverend divine's to important faults in our political system, and especially to the unnatural and per-

nicious connexion between matters civil and ecclesiastical; but that government which gives security of person and property, and what is more, civil and religious liberty, to all *of every colour* who tread her happy shores, shall have in civil matters both my attachment and my support; and looking at the characteristic features of the various governments which are around us, and the domestic system which each supports, I know not the country where I would so willingly 'nail my colours to the mast,' and identify my fortune with hers, as 'my own, my native land.'

This minister was born and educated—*dicere pudet*—in Scotland; and while he was thus preaching a crusade against the land which gave him birth, other clergymen of New York, born and educated in the United States, set themselves most steadily against the war, and the party which carried it on; and one even rendered himself so conspicuous by his opposition, that he found it necessary to keep for some time an armed guard in his house, to protect him from the fury of the mob. I do not justify either the one or the other, in making the pulpit a place of political declamation; but if the subject of politics may be introduced at all, surely the cry of peace, and not of war, should emanate from that place which was built to proclaim 'good will towards men!'

It was a joyful evening when the tidings of peace reached New York! I have heard it spoken of

oftener than once, and each narrator seemed to paint in more glowing colours than another, the effect which the unexpected intelligence produced throughout the city. A clergyman told me that he was sitting in his study after dinner, ruminating with gloomy despondency on the prospect which seemed before them. The country was in the utmost distress; the intercourse between one district of it and another almost broken up, the merchant vessels rotting in the harbour, and business of every kind at a stand. Government was scarcely able with all its exertions to raise the necessary supplies; the secretary of the navy had talked of having recourse to impressment to man the ships of war; in some of the Eastern States a dissolution of the Federal compact was openly and every where talked of; and, what to the individual alluded to was more immediately distressing, many of the members of his congregation, and thousands of his fellow citizens, were reduced to poverty and want; while the latest despatches from Ghent gave not the slightest hope of a cessation of hostilities. While in the very act of contemplating these miseries of war, and anticipating the approach of yet greater distress, he heard an unusual bustle in the street; and going to the window he threw it up and looked over. People were running backwards and forwards, gathering into knots and talking with the utmost earnestness, then separating and going away. He thought that it might be fire, although

he could not account for the silence of the church bells;—watching the first person that approached he called out to him 'What is the matter?' 'Peace Sir!' shouted the replier, 'Peace! Peace!'—'Peace,' exclaimed the minister in astonishment, 'is it possible!' Down he hurried to the coffee-room, to learn how the news had come, and what reliance was placed on them. The coffee-room was in the utmost commotion, every one congratulating another, and asking questions without waiting for a reply. A British sloop of war had arrived with a flag of truce at Sandy Hook, and had brought the cheering tidings that the preliminaries of peace were signed, and that no doubt was entertained as to their speedy ratification. It was enough;—despondency gave place to joy and gratitude, and the welcome sound spreading like wildfire through the city, old and young re-echoed the announcement. Troops of boys paraded the streets shouting Peace! Peace! Peace! and on the approach of evening, the citizens with one consent lighted up their windows, and a spontaneous and universal illumination blazed along the streets, from the Battery to Greenwich.

Among others whom the unexpected tidings startled were two young ladies, one a native of England, the other of America, sitting together in the parlour. The electrifying word was no sooner pronounced, than our enthusiastic countrywoman flew to the piano-forte, and throwing it open gave

vent to her emotion in the loud and thrilling anthem, 'God save great George our King!'—the fair American waited impatiently for the concluding bar, and with no less enthusiasm, and certainly no less sincerity of delight, gave as a response, 'Hail Columbia, happy land!' On the following Sabbath, the voice of praise and thanksgiving was heard in every church. How the author of the war sermons acted, I have not heard; but the minister who had so conspicuously distinguished himself by his opposition to the war, concluded an animated call to gratitude, for the return of tranquillity, with Cowper's immortal line—

"England, with all thy faults I love thee still!"

25th. Christmas. The stores almost all shut. Episcopalians at church, and other people amusing themselves. Went in the forenoon to a Romish chapel, or rather cathedral, which has lately been erected at the upper extremity of the city.

The interior is a kind of attempt at Gothic, and the wall at the upper end, behind the altar, is covered with an effort at perspective in sized colours, intended to deceive the eye by the appearance of long withdrawing aisles and arches; the effect however is miserable. There were three priests mumbling Latin in the usual style; one of them was the Bishop, and the other two had a prodigious deal of trouble in getting him ensconced in a kind of arm chair, under a canopy, and sticking

on his head a paper mitre covered with tinsel. The priests and their decorations wanted sadly the substantial splendour of their brethren in Fayal and Canada, and the whole establishment was evidently no way in danger from repletion.

At a tea party last night. A tea party is a serious thing in this country, and some of those at which I have been present in New York and elsewhere, have been on a very large scale. In the modern houses the two principal apartments are on the first floor, and communicate by large folding doors, which on gala days throw wide their ample portals, converting the two apartments into one. At the largest party which I have seen, there were about thirty young ladies present, and more than as many gentlemen. Every sofa, chair and footstool, were occupied by the ladies, and little enough room some of them appeared to have after all. The gentlemen were obliged to be content with walking up and down, talking now with one lady, now with another. Tea was brought in by a couple of blacks, carrying large trays, one covered with cups, the other with cake. Slowly making the round, and retiring at intervals for additional supplies, the ladies were gradually gone over; and after much patience the gentlemen began to enjoy the beverage 'which cheers but not inebriates;' still walking about, or leaning against the wall, with the cup and saucer in their hand.

As soon as the first course was over, the hospitable trays again entered bearing a chaos of

preserves—peaches, pine apples, ginger, oranges, citrons, pears, &c. in tempting display. A few of the young gentlemen now accompanied the revolution of the trays, and sedulously attended to the pleasure of the ladies. The party was so numerous that the period between the commencement and the termination of the round, was sufficient to justify a new solicitation; and so the ceremony continued, with very little intermission during the whole evening. Wine succeeded the preserves, and dried fruit followed the wine; which in its turn was supported by sandwiches in name of supper, and a forlorn hope of confectionary and frost work. I pitied the poor blacks who, like Tantalus, had such a profusion of dainties the whole evening at their finger ends, without the possibility of partaking of them. A little music and dancing gave variety to the scene; which to some of us was a source of considerable satisfaction, for when a number of ladies were on the floor, those who cared not for the dance had the pleasure of getting a seat. About eleven o'clock I did myself the honour of escorting a lady home, and was well pleased to have an excuse for escaping.

At one occasion of this kind a Romish priest was of the party; and his vows of celibacy were no obstacle to his warbling, *con molto espressione*, 'Jessie the flower of Dumblane,' 'Said a smile to a tear,' and sundry other erotic ditties.

LETTER XIX.

LETTER XIX.

NEW YEAR'S DAY—STANZAS—NAVY CHAPLAIN—WHETHER A WHALE IS A FISH—SNOW AND SLEIGH-RIDING—PREVALENCE OF PULMONARY COMPLAINTS—DRESS—NEW YORK INSTITUTION—ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS—LYCEUM—MUSEUM—LITERARY SOCIETY—HISTORICAL SOCIETY—MR. VERPLANK'S DISCOURSE—REMARKS ON AMERICAN LITERATURE—INDICATIONS OF IMPROVEMENT—AMERICAN LANGUAGE—UNFAIRNESS OF TRAVELLERS—DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION—BANKS—INSURANCE COMPANIES—A FUNERAL—TRAVELLING IN AMERICA—STEAM BOATS—STAGES—POST OFFICE REGULATIONS—INNS—NEW YORK POLICE—MORALS—ORPHAN ASYLUM—AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS—ON THE CONTINUANCE OF AMERICAN FREEDOM—OBSTACLES FROM SLAVERY AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE—ON THE INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRATION—CONCLUSION.

New York, January, 1819.

Jan. 1*st.* THE return of New Year's day brings vividly before me the associated scenes of youthful festivity, and many warm and endearing recollections of my native land. I am in the country of strangers, but 'the friends of my youth' are not without my good wishes, at this periodical season of congratulations, and I know well that they have not forgotten 'Here's to him that's far awa.'

The evening of yesterday was spent in a Scotish

family, where the recollection of national customs is faithfully kept up. A pretty numerous party were present to celebrate 'Hockmanay;' and we kept together 'as use is,' till the clocks of the city had tolled the knell of expiring time, and we had an opportunity of reciprocating with each other the wish of many happy new years. You who have never been borne over the foaming billows of the mighty deep—who have never been separated by the broad Atlantic, from all that you hold dearest in this world—who have never wandered in the interior of a vast continent, among strangers who know nothing, and care nothing, about your former life or your future expectations—cannot appreciate the magic influence of a little circle of your countrymen, met to keep alive the manners and the festivals of your native land. In going home I found no disturbance in the streets, nor any of that outrageous jollity which is so prevalent at home; 'first-footing' with all its fun, noise, and absurdity, is unknown in New York.

Most of the churches here have sermon on New Year's day morning. I attended at a presbyterian church, and heard an impressive address from the important words—'Give an account of thy stewardship.' This passage naturally suggested counsel and admonition, on the performance of our various personal and relative duties; the preacher first adverted to our public duties, as being severally ecclesiastical, literary, professional, or domestic;

and then to the private ones, as relating to our time, our body, our mind, the gifts of providence, and the blessings of grace. Surely it is not unsuitable to be reminded of such things in commencing a new revolution of the fleeting months; and I can bear testimony to the ability with which the several topics were illustrated, and the solemnity and effect with which the duty of improving the present hour, was pressed home upon the audience.

As soon as service was over, a busy scene began. It is the rule here that on New Year's day you visit every family of your acquaintance, even though the acquaintance should be very slight; many, I am told, give and receive calls on this occasion who do not see each other again throughout the whole year. The ladies stay at home to receive visitors, the gentlemen go about. Clergymen however are, in virtue of their office, entitled to the same attention as the ladies, and a call at their levee is never on any account omitted. As all these visits must be over before dinner, they are necessarily very short. Wine and cake are on the parlour table and you are invited to partake of them, but as this is impossible at every house, it is never insisted on; you shake hands, exchange good wishes, and in general, without even sitting down, are off immediately. In such a matter as this, there was no difficulty in complying with the maxim, "While in Rome, do as they do in Rome," I therefore walked about among my friends with

great activity till near three o'clock, when I found dinner beginning to make its appearance.

This custom is it seems of Dutch origin, and when performed according to the ancient rules of hospitality, every visitor, if he did not remain long enough to eat his *cookie*, as the little round cake provided for the occasion is called, was obliged to carry it away in his pocket. In these degenerate times, however, this is scarcely ever asked, and still more rarely insisted on.

In the course of a day or two the clergymen begin to repay the calls which they have received, and every family was in former times expected to be provided with a cookie, of Brobdignag dimensions, for the *Dominie*, as the minister was styled by the Dutchmen. In general, the privilege of declining the proffered dainty, is now conceded to the parson as well as to his flock; but it is said that a few years ago one of the older clergymen of the Dutch church was so universal a favourite, that he found it necessary to be accompanied in this annual parochial visitation by his beadle, who carried a large green bag, and at the corner of every street relieved the worthy Dominie's pockets, of the overflowing bounty of his parishioners.

The following touching stanzas, not inappropriate at this season, are ascribed, I know not on what authority, to the late favourite daughter of our beloved monarch. I found them a few days ago in a young lady's Album; it is possible that

they may have been copied from an English magazine, but they are new to me, and may perhaps be so to you also:—

"SAID TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY THE LATE

PRINCESS AMELIA;

A SHORT TIME BEFORE HER DEATH.

I

"Unthinking, idle, wild, and young,
I laughed, and talked, and danced, and sung;
Proud of my health, of beauty vain,
Thoughtless of sorrow, care, or pain;
Believing, in those hours of glee,
That all the world was made for me.

II.

"But when the day of trial came,
When sickness shook my trembling frame,
When folly's gay pursuit was o'er,
And I could laugh and sing no more,
It then occurred—how sad t'would be,
Were this world only made for me!"

4*th*. Among the inmates of our boarding-house, while I resided here in summer, was a surgeon of the United States' navy; a young man of mild and agreeable manners, correct deportment, and considerable information. In 1815 and 1816, Dr. —— served in the Mediterranean. In the small squadron to which he was attached, there was a chaplain, whose history presents a sad picture of the neglect-

ed state of the poor sailors. This person commenced his career as an actor, but had been obliged to abandon the stage in consequence of his excessive dissipation. He next tried the army, but a very few months sufficed to make it disown him. Last of all he became accidentally acquainted with the Commodore of the American squadron, a short time before it sailed from Boston, and his conversational and convivial talents having pleased the commander, he procured his appointment as chaplain, as there seemed to be no *other* office for which he was at all qualified. The ship's crew were probably pretty well pleased with their chaplain; he had tolerable literary talents, could *spout* a pathetic passage with much effect, was not scrupulously bigoted to any creed, nor very unbending on the score of moral restraint:—moreover he could sing a jovial song, played a good hand at whist, and never carried his love of retirement farther, if the officers knocked at his cabin door when it was not agreeable to him to turn out, than to swear a round oath and tell them that he was busy with his next Sunday's sermon!

While the squadron was in port at a small island, a British one arrived and lay for some time beside it. The British squadron had no chaplain at all,[1] and on Sabbath when the weather was good, and church rigged out in the American ship, some of

[1] My only authority for this statement is that which has been specified; I feel complete confidence however in its accuracy.

the officers used to go on board and hear this worthy preach. It happened while the fleets continued together, that an English lady on the island became dangerously ill, and expressed an ardent desire to have the *sacrament* administered to her, according to the ritual of her national church. Her husband being unable to find a chaplain in the British fleet, came on board the American, and urgently intreated the reverend divine to go on shore and perform this office to the dying lady. Hardened as he was, however, he at first shrunk from it, and excused himself by saying that he had never studied for the ministry, nor received ordination, and that though he preached to the ship's company, he had never exercised any other of the functions of a clergyman. The lady became gradually weaker, and in a few days her husband came again on board, and urged him so earnestly to comply with her request, that he at last consented;—went on shore, administered the sacrament in the prescribed form to the poor expiring woman, and returning in the evening, sat down in the ward room with the officers, and got drunk before going to bed!

5th. A good deal of amusement has been excited for some days, by a trial which has been instituted to determine whether whale oil is, or is not, fish oil. An act had been passed ordering the inspection of fish oil, and of course appointing fees to the inspecting officer; but the dealers in whale oil had refused to allow it to be inspected, on the plea that it did

not come within the meaning of the act; which they contended applied only to the oil of seals, cods, and other small fishes; and among other grounds of defence they chose the singular one, that a whale is in reality not a fish at all! To support this assertion, an eminent naturalist was called by the defendants, who entered into many very learned physiological arguments to substantiate the point, and as a corroborative argument cited the Mosaic narrative of the creation, in which that of whales is specifically mentioned, notwithstanding of the general statement as to fishes;—this he contended would not have been, had whales been there included. The counsel for the pursuers, however, were more than a match for the learned naturalist in Biblical knowledge, and referring to the history of Jonah, showed that the 'great fish,' which swallowed him up when thrown out of the vessel, is in the New Testament expressly called a 'whale' when the prophet is spoken of as having been three days and three nights in its belly. The result was that the defendants lost the cause.

6*th*. We have had a considerable fall of snow for a few days, and yesterday afternoon I enjoyed for the first time a ride in a sleigh. Sleighs are in general open above, and have cross seats like those of a stage waggon, capable of accommodating eight or ten persons. The driver stands in front protected by a curved board which rises up to keep out the snow.

Sleigh riding is a favourite amusement in the moonlight evenings, and we met a great many on the road; the bells on the harness kept up a perpetual jingling. To whirl along however in an open carriage, in a frosty night, is exceedingly benumbing, and I fear that this amusement is one cause of the pulmonary complaints which abound so much in New York. There were last year upwards of 500 deaths from consumption alone, and the greater number of victims were young females. The dress of the ladies is one obvious cause. In a bleak December day, if there is a slight glimpse of sunshine, you may see them walking Broadway in gossamer dresses of silks and gauze, with their throats perfectly bare. In strong contrast with these fair daughters of the spring, the city sparks lounge along enveloped in thick box coats, with eight or ten capes, and roll after roll of cravats and silk handkerchiefs swathed under their chins.

Another custom prevails among the ladies no less pernicious. On Sabbath they may be seen picking their steps to church through drifting snow, in silk or cotton stockings, and shoes scarcely thicker than a cobweb; so far as I can observe a worsted stocking is to American ladies an unknown comfort. Behind them comes a little black girl carrying a small tin box, pierced with holes, containing a little pan of live charcoal, or the glowing embers of hickory wood. This box is used as a footstool during service, and after the feet have been

toasted over it for a couple of hours, and a considerable local perspiration excited, the lady in returning home exposes herself as before to all the rigours of the weather. I was surprised to see no muffs in use in this cold region; and the only explanation which I can hear of it, is, that they have been so frequently made use of by the light-fingered race as an auxiliary in pilfering, that it has become discreditable to wear them. This is, I suppose, as common a trick at home as in New York, but we should be astonished if it were to lead to the total proscription of so very comfortable an article of female winter dress.

The male portion of the community are much more careful to regulate their clothing by the changes of the weather. In the hot months of summer they are seen with a thin cotton dressing gown, or a loose coat of cotton or bombasin, and a straw hat, with a brim twice as broad as a quaker's lined with green silk. In winter they resort to all the comforts of great coats, box coats, fur gloves and galoches.

7th. I find on glancing over my journal that some of my summer memoranda have not hitherto been communicated; accept of them now.

I was conducted (July 29th) by Dr. —— to the New York Institution. The buildings so denominated are a plain range of brick, near the City Hall, with apartments occupied by the American Academy of Fine Arts, the Lyceum of Natural History, and Scudder's Museum; there are also rooms for the meetings, library, and records, of the

Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Historical Society. The committee rooms are decorated with portraits and busts, and in the Academy of Fine Arts are a number of casts and paintings. The Lyceum of Natural History does not seem to be as yet thoroughly systematized; besides subjects in the branch of science to which it is devoted, it contains a number of Indian weapons and articles of dress, and what, if genuine, is a much greater curiosity, a mass of hardened clay, about a foot square and four inches thick, of a light yellowish colour, which is, *or ought to be*, a Babylonian brick:—a little scepticism however upon this subject may perhaps be excusable.[2]

Scudder's Museum is a private collection, and though not very extensive, contains a good deal worth seeing. The subjects in Natural History are preserved with a degree of skill which is rarely found in similar exhibitions. The shape is occasionally a little stiff, but the furs of the quadrupeds and plumage of the birds are in beautiful condition. One of the glass cases contains a singular

[2] I know not whether it is to this mass, that the lively author of Fanny alludes, in the following stanza:—

> "Money is power, 'tis said—I never tried;
> For I'm a poet—and bank notes to me
> Are curiosities, as closely eyed,
> Whene'er I get them, as a stone would be,
> Toss'd from the moon on Dr. Mitchill's table,
> Or *classic brick-bat from the tower of Babel.*"
>
> *Fanny, stanza VI.*

assemblage of water and land turtles, of all sizes, from the most gigantic to the most diminutive. The *Lambert* of the case, called the Leviathan Turtle, is 7½ feet long and 13 feet in circumference; it was caught by a New York pilot boat, about thirty miles off Sandy Hook, and weighed when killed 800 pounds, although it was thought that it lost about 200 pounds of blood in the conflict. Some of its neighbours in the glass case are not above an inch in length; one of them, however, small as it is, has two heads and six legs. Behind a screen is a dried human body, from a saltpetre cave in Kentucky. It is called an Indian mummy, but is probably a remnant of the more ancient race by which the vast mounds in Ohio were erected. The body, which seems to have been fully grown, is in a sitting posture, the knees up to the mouth; the skin is evidently entire, as well as the hair of the head, but the whole is shrivelled and shrunk in a singular manner. The upper floor of this repository is disfigured with most revolting figures in wax, among which are Saul, Samuel, and the witch of Endor; prodigies of absurdity and bad taste.[3] On a partition in the centre of this room are some

[3] This seems a favourite subject for illustration among American artificers in wax; there is another groupe of the same in what is called a museum at Albany. Mr. Scudder's Saul wears a blue silk coat and small clothes, covered with spangles; the witch sits on a parlour chair in a printed cotton gown, with a white shawl, cap, and black riband; and Samuel sports a white cotton night cap.

immense paintings, in sized colours, of the naval actions of last war in which America was victorious. The fable says, 'if lions were painters,'—and we must put up with the mortification which the brush and the graver here frequently offer to British feelings. Our print sellers exhibit in their windows the Shannon and the Chesapeake; the American artists take ample amends with the Guerriere, the Java, the Macedonian, and the squadrons of Barclay and Downie.

The members of the New York Historical Society, which meets in the adjoining rooms, have produced some able memoirs, chiefly of men who have deserved well of their country; and the last anniversary discourse, delivered on 7th December by Mr. G. C. Verplank, well upholds the respectability of the series. Mr. Verplank has devoted his essay to the commemoration of those Europeans who rendered themselves conspicuous in the various ages of American history, by conferring 'the blessings of religion, morals, letters, and liberty,' on the western world. In this discourse, which has been printed, the author enters into an enthusiastic defence of the memory of Las Casas, from the imputation of his having encouraged the introduction of negro slavery, into the Spanish American colonies; a charge which has been supported by Robertson, Raynal, Marmontel, and others. In a strain of grateful recollection, Mr. Verplank has noticed the early settlers of the

British provinces, and the many singular but meritorious men, who at different epochs rendered themselves conspicuous in their history. He also records some of the European names, who aided his countrymen in throwing off the control of the British Sovereign, and confers a glowing eulogium upon Louis XVI. Before concluding, he adverts to the characteristic variety and poetic character of European history, and thus contrasts with it the simplicity of that of America:—

"Our own history, on the contrary, like that poetical temple of Fame, which was first reared by the imagination of Chaucer, and decorated by the taste of Pope, is almost exclusively dedicated to the memory of the truly great. Or, rather, like the Pantheon of Rome, it stands in calm and severe beauty amid the ruins of ancient magnificence, and 'the toys of modern state.' Within no idle ornament encumbers its bold simplicity. The pure light of heaven enters from above, and sheds an equal and serene radiance around. As the eye wanders about its extent, it beholds the unadorned monuments of brave and good men, who have greatly bled or toiled for their country, or it rests on votive tablets inscribed with the names of the best benefactors of mankind."[4]

[4] Mr. Verplank characterizes Mr. Washington Irving as one of the chief of living American writers; and remarks, as if anticipating the fame which he has subsequently acquired,—"This writer has not yet fulfilled all the promise he has given to his country. It is his duty,

Mr. Verplank's discourse certainly does honour to himself, and to the literature of his country. It exhibits a great extent of reading, combined with an independence of mind, which leads him fearlessly to controvert opinions sanctioned by the authority of great names; and to estimate the value of historical statements, by their intrinsic worth, rather than by the character of their authors. His style, if somewhat ornate and oratorical, is yet well balanced and harmonious; and is throughout perfectly free from those indigenous expressions which so frequently provincialize American compositions. The spirit that pervades the essay is that of an enthusiastic love of country; and if it may be said, here and there, rather to blind him to its faults, this is a feeling so excusable in itself, perhaps one to which we are ourselves so liable, that we cannot allow it to lessen the pleasure which is afforded by a perusal.

Much has been written on the subject of American literature, and various theories have been pro-

because it is in his power, to brush away the pretenders who may at any time infest her society, her science, or her politics; or if he aspires, as I trust he does, to strains of a higher mood, the deeds of his countrymen, and the undescribed beauties of his native land, afford him many a rich subject, and he may deck the altar of his country's glory with the garlands of his taste and fancy." Mr. Verplank, however, who is of Dutch descent, and jealous for the honour of his parent country, feels a little sore at Deidrich Knickerbocker's wit, and makes some remarks on it, to which Mr. Irving pleasantly alludes in the introduction to Rip Van Winkle. See the Sketch Book.

posed to account for the comparative scantiness of original compositions, and the frequent inferiority of much that has been written. I have no new hypothesis to propose upon the subject. The fact is sufficiently accounted for by the state of the country, as a young and a rising one; offering more encouragement to commercial and agricultural adventure, than to literary and philosophical pursuits; and probably this kind of mental tutelage has existed longer than its natural time, from the influence of a hereditary disposition in the natives to look elsewhere for their literature. Those who were disposed to write, felt a misgiving in their hearts as to their own strength, and allowed their powers to be deadened by a chilling awe of foreign criticism. Those again who were to purchase their writings, felt no confidence in literary productions of domestic origin; they did not expect much, and they were slow to admit the existence of even moderate excellence. Every vessel from Liverpool brings an importation of new authors, which the accommodating booksellers immediately transmute from a costly into a cheap form, and a torrent of British authors, of legally accredited talent, deluges the land, and carries with it the minds and the partialities of the multitude. Our Reviews have contributed to increase and perpetuate this feeling of intellectual subordination. They have almost always[5] in criti-

[5] This had reference to the state of matters before the appearance of Mr. Irving's recent publications.

cising American authors doled out their praise in very niggardly portions, and frequently accompanied the little which they gave, with a tone of affected condescension more disheartening than censure; patting, as it were, the author like the schoolboy on the head, and comforting him with—"Very well *for an American*,—very well indeed!"

Indications, I think, are very plainly discernible of a change in this respect. Not many large or aspiring works indeed have yet been published, of a very superior kind, but here and there a fugitive essay has made its appearance, or discourse, or memoir, like those to which I have alluded; not unfrequently without the author's name, who seems to shrink from the wrath of the literary inquisitors; many of these exhibit a purity and nervousness of style, with an independence of mind which may probably stimulate their authors to try their strength in more sustained efforts. The public voice too has begun to cry shame, at the sceptical disbelief which has so long prevailed, of the possibility of American literary talent; and when some master spirit has fairly vindicated his own inherent strength, and set the bold example of revolt from European domination, he will doubtless find a band of brothers, ready to rise with enthusiasm and determination to aid him in the conflict; and a second revolution, yet more honourable than the first, will sooner or later be the consequence. Men have no conception of what they are able to achieve, till they fairly

task their energies in the trial. There is abundance of talent in the country, conversational, oratorical, and professional; there is widely diffused a great amount of general information, and its inseparable attendant, a desire to acquire more; there is much purity of moral sentiment, and much sterling religious principle; there is a fair proportion of classical learning, and a still larger share of scientific knowledge;—these are the very elements of literature, even of the highest order, and although they may slumber unseen and unheard of for a time, the connexion of cause and effect must cease, if they do not ultimately blaze forth in enduring brillancy.[6]

[6] I cannot help quoting here a rather singular passage from the North American Review. The writer's remarks are suggested by Garat's Memoirs of M. Suard, &c. a French work, which commemorates a learned, wealthy, and very liberal Dutch bookseller named Pankouke, who lived in Paris, and who had been known, "after concluding a treaty for a work, to advance a hundred thousand francs beyond the bargain." "What bookseller," exclaims the Reviewer, "in the United States, would advance twenty thousand dollars beyond his bargain? He that should do it would be laughed at for his simplicity, rather than extolled as a Mæcenas. We go farther, and ask what bookseller in the United States would offer twenty thousand dollars for any book that could be written? In other countries, when a gentleman has been at the trouble of writing a book, there is a competition among the booksellers to know who shall have the honour of printing it, and the author puts what price he pleases upon his manuscript. Here, on the contrary, it is not always that he can persuade the bookseller to print.—As to the idea of receiving any money for the copyright, it would be thought the height of presumption in a writer to expect it. It is

The powerful aid of periodical criticism will not be wanting; and who can calculate what that mighty engine has wrought in Britain? It has drawn forth latent talent, it has encouraged and rewarded timid worth, it has spread a taste for reading and a taste for philosophizing, and it has infused a literary spirit into thousands who knew not its inspiration; it has at the same time checked presumption, exposed ignorance, and punished

quite enough if the bookseller will do him the favour of printing his work, and will take the trouble of sending it about to his correspondents, with a proviso that he shall take the profits to himself, if there be any, and leave the author the chance of a loss. It is compensation enough for the latter to see his name in the title page. We hear much of the paucity of good books published in this country, but we cannot help thinking that much of the blame of it is to be attributed to the booksellers. If these gentlemen, instead of investing their capital in the republication of foreign works, from which they derive no honour and little profit, the sale being in general barely enough to cover the expense,—if, we say, instead of this, they would hold out a generous encouragement for the production of original compositions,—if they would offer twenty thousand dollars for a history,—ten thousand for a poem or a novel, and so in proportion; and would then, like the illustrious Pankouke, throw in a few thousand dollars above the bargain, to put the author in good spirits,—we should find the reproach of our literary poverty disappearing very fast. We should soon have a class of standard national works, that, after making the fortune of their writers, would become a lasting and valuable property to the booksellers that bought the copies; while the foreign books which they now reprint, are all ephemeral, and, like fancy goods, are not worth a dollar to them after the first momentary demand is over. *North American Review, No. XXXI. pp.* 261—2.

With all due deference to this learned Reviewer, I cannot help

folly; and although these beneficial effects have not been produced without a good deal of concomitant mischief, and sometimes cases of cruel individual injustice, yet no one can dispassionately estimate the relative amounts, without at once confessing that the good has far outweighed the evil.

The North American Review is slowly but gradually working its way into the favour of the reading public; and beyond a doubt it will do much

thinking that he is rather too hard upon the American bibliopolists; and that he is in fact reversing the natural order of events. Whatever may have been the case with Mr. Pankouke, I suspect that booksellers are very seldom actuated by any abstract love of letters, in purchasing literary productions. Copyrights are like calicoes, a mere mercantile commodity, which nobody buys but in the expectation of turning the purchase to account. Till the American public patronize native productions, it is in vain to expect that booksellers will, and unreasonable to quarrel with them because they do not. Very large sums are now paid in Britain for copyrights, but solely because very large sums are made by the purchase; and although some booksellers have the reputation of being more liberal to their authors than others, it is solely because they are able in various ways to make even this liberality productive. The times are wondrously changed as to copyrights since the days of Milton, and yet the purchaser of Paradise Lost, was in all probability quite as much disposed to foster literature for its own sake, as most modern publishers either in London or Edinburgh. It is said that when Dr. Buchan published the first edition of his Domestic Physician, he offered the copyright to Mr. Creech for Fifty Pounds, which sum Mr. Creech declined to give; in the course of a week or two, however, he waited on the Doctor, and offered him Five Hundred for it, which he in his turn refused to take:—would the Reviewer attribute this wonderful change in Mr. Creech's mind to a sudden fit of disinterested love of literature?

to change the aspect of literary affairs. I do not indeed go the length of a gentleman of Boston, who in conversing with me on the subject prophesied, that 'in less than two years, at least two thousand copies of it would be sold in Britain;' yet should its present promise not be falsified, this may in all probability one day be the case, for I doubt not that a taste for American books will gradually arise among my countrymen, just as a taste for English books has long existed here.[7]

I have noticed the Scientific Journal which has been lately begun, under the editorial care of Professor Silliman of Yale College; and when we reflect on the immense field which this wonderful country opens up to geological research; and the abundant scope which it affords for the investigation of phenomena in earth and air and sea; when we take into account the progress of medical science in America, and the important discoveries which have been made in the mechanical and useful arts,—we cannot doubt that under such an editor the work must be both a prosperous and an in-

[7] This work needs not now my 'faint praise.' A writer in the Edinburgh Review has asserted, that twenty years ago a critical journal of equal talent was not known in Britain; and the elegant conductor of the New Monthly Magazine has shown the utmost respect to the remarks of its editor (Professor Everett of Harvard University) on one of the essays in his journal. Its literary excellence may therefore be regarded as beyond controversy, and probably the prophecy of the native of Boston is hastening to its accomplishment.

teresting one. It augurs well for it, that though the second Number is but just published the first has already gone out of print.[7]

The state of the English language in America has been another standing topic of reproach with those who delight to run the *Yankees* down. On this subject however the natives of the United States have not been quite so passive; for not content with rebutting attacks they have become assailants in their turn, and many have even asserted, that the English language is spoken with greater purity in America than in Britain. I cannot agree with the latter, and I am very far from taking part with the former;—truth lies between.

Much unfairness has been practised by travellers with regard to the language of Americans; and most of the conversations with which they have so liberally garnished their volumes, bear the brand of forgery upon their foreheads. I feel myself standing on sure ground when I say, of the greater number of these dialogues, that such conversations never took place. Some odd sounding words are no

[7] Professor Silliman's Journal has now completed the fifth volume and may be considered as permanently established; the scientific skill of the editor and his associates has called forth the warm commendations of British philosophers, and the pages of his miscellany abound with much that is interesting and attractive to readers of less exalted acquirements. It may be proper perhaps to notice that both this work and the North American Review are supplied in London by Mr. John Miller, 69, Fleet Street.

doubt in use among country farmers, stage drivers, and those who ply as porters about the wharfs and steam boats, and even in better society a few phrases are current which are unknown at home; but to collect all these into one conglomerated mass, with many which I never once heard in my progress through the country, and, by interspersing a few words of intelligible English, to weave the anomalous materials into something like a conversation, is to say the least of it a most uncandid way of exhibiting a specimen of the language of the country.

The peculiarities in American conversation consist partly in an uncanonical use of good English words, partly in illipses to which we are not accustomed, partly in an occasional word surviving from the language of the first settlers, and partly in a few which appear to be of republican coinage. The intermixture however of these peculiarities is by no means so great or so offensive as is generally reported, and the evil of their introduction, it must be allowed, is in some measure alleviated, if not compensated, by the total absence of provincial accent, and of some other inaccuracies which are occasionally heard at home.

The hypothesis that the English language is spoken with greater purity here than at home, has been supported by men whose talents and whose candour alike entitle their opinion to respect; and in a qualified sense probably we must allow that it

is well founded. The inferior orders of society in America certainly speak more accurately than the inferior orders in Britain, and those local peculiarities of accent which abound so amazingly in our native country, and which a foreigner travelling among us must detect much more readily than a native, are totally unknown here. There is a great degree of uniformity in the style of conversation, throughout that portion of the country which I have visited; and a very considerable degree of what is called in Scotland the English pronunciation. Here however my concessions stop. The educated classes of society, do not speak by any means so accurately in America as in Britain; there are more deficiencies in grammar, in accent, in pronunciation; there is a mixture of unauthorized phrases of which we know nothing; and were a casual conversation between a well educated native of America, and a well educated native of Britain, faithfully committed to writing, that of the American, would I think in a large majority of cases be found deficient.

Some ultra-independent republicans have avowed their impatience of the assumed right, on the part of English critics, to sit in judgment upon American language and composition; and have asserted their right to free themselves from the shackles of English control, in matters literary, as well as political. These theorists however have not met with any support from the more enlightened and

unprejudiced of their countrymen; on the contrary vigorous efforts have been made to counteract the rage for literary innovation, and 'set a discountenancing mark,' as Franklin called it, upon unclassical expressions. Among others Mr. Pickering has distinguished himself in this commendable cause, by the publication of a copious vocabulary of the words and phrases which are peculiar to his native country,[9] or which are used in a peculiar acceptation. He has prefixed to this vocabulary a very candid essay, on the present state of the English language in the United States, in which he strongly urges on his countrymen the necessity of forming their style upon that of the standard British authors, and of rejecting every expression for which they cannot produce unquestionable authority. He has inscribed upon his work the very appropriate motto, from Cicero, 'Atque ut Latine loquamur, videndum est, ut verba efferamus ea quæ nemo jure reprehendat.' With such a beacon to warn them, and with such writers as Mr. Irving, Mr. Verplank, and the editor of the North American Review,[10] recognizing the standards of correct

[9] In one volume Octavo, Boston 1816.

[10] This journal shows a commendable zeal in repressing inroads on the purity of our common language. The following extract may be considered as their Literary Creed, and ultra-toryism itself must be gratified with the orthodox spirit of legitimacy which breathes through it. Criticising a recent American traveller the reviewer says:—"As to language, his work is highly defective, and every page he writes, is marked by a sin against the King's English.—We are indepen-

composition, I think it probable that American authors are more likely than otherwise to improve in their style; and that in the course of a few years, no one, who pretends to accuracy of composition, will allow himself the use of phrases which are now to a considerable extent common.

11*th*. A school for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb was begun here in May last year, by a person who had been employed for some time at an older institution of the same kind in Hartford, Connecticut. The conductor of the Hartford academy, Mr. Gallaudet, acquired his knowledge of the art at Paris; since his return to his native country, he has exerted himself with much success in behalf of that unfortunate and interesting class of our fellow creatures.

When I visited the New York school in the month of July, it contained nineteen pupils, five of whom were grown up. They seemed to have made considerable progress in acquiring ideas, and in the art of communicating them. Some of

dent Americans it is true, and have a right if we choose to vote out the English Language altogether, but we have no right to corrupt it. We trust moreover that it is still the boast of every man of English descent throughout the land, that the language of Shakespeare and of Milton is his mother tongue. Subjection to it is not among the grievances complained of in the bill of rights, nor is freedom from its laws any where to be found in the declaration of independence, and while this Magna Charta does not forbid allegiance to it, we hope no scholar can be found who will not keep 'his loyalty, his zeal, his love.'" *North American Review, No. XXXVI. p.* 248.

them articulated with tolerable distinctness. At the Hartford academy I am informed that they do not attempt articulation. The manual alphabet which is used is that of the French schools, and requires the use of only one hand. This strikes me as an improvement, for should an individual be disabled in either arm he would necessarily be prevented from the use of the alphabet which is used in our seminaries.

15*th*. The number of banking companies in America surprises a stranger. In the city of New York there are ten or a dozen, all issuing their own notes; besides a multitude of others in the immediate neighbourhood. A list of the banks in the United States has been recently published, containing between three and four hundred; although there is every reason to believe that it is not complete. Some of the memoranda in this catalogue are not a little inexplicable to a stranger. Under the name of one of the banks you will find, "The notes of this bank signed with red ink, at a discount of 25 per cent, those signed with black 5 per cent discount;" after the name of another, "Not in good credit." The paper of one town is not received by the banks of another, unless when specially payable there; and the consequence is that it requires not a little circumspection, in a stranger who is travelling about, to avoid losing by the discount upon notes, which increases regularly as he recedes from the place where they

are issued. This in the paper of private companies is less remarkable, but the United States' Bank, which has eight or ten branches scattered over the country, issues notes dated at each of these places, none of which will be received by any of the other branches, except for government duties and taxes; so that a merchant with his pocket full of the notes of the United States' Bank at Philadelphia, cannot pay his bill in the office of the same bank at New York, till he has gone to a broker and paid him a premium for exchanging them. This discount upon bank notes has given rise to a regular trade of buying and selling them, and with a little foresight and arrangement, if you are travelling to any considerable distance, you may save a few dollars in your expenses by previously buying the notes of that part of the country to which you are going. The brokers, or *shavers* as they are familiarly designated, are numerous in all the towns.

The legal rate of interest in the State of New York is seven per cent., but bills at 60 days are discounted by the banks at six. The banks make a dividend on their stock once in six months, which at present varies in amount from eight to twelve per cent., per annum. Each company must be incorporated by an act of the State legislature, and it is illegal to commence banking without such an act. This is an unwise provision. Were the business left open, as in Scotland, to individual en-

terprise and competition, the public would have security for their property, to the full extent of the private fortune of all the partners in the company; and the number of companies would be regulated by the natural operation of supply and demand; but when a company is bolstered up by a State enactment, and the capital stock declared to be alone liable for its engagements, the public have no definite and tangible security for their property; a facility is afforded for the most unlimited speculation; and sometimes the bank becomes a complete system of fraud and robbery. The number also is increased beyond all bounds; part of them become bankrupt, and those which are solvent provide work and profit for the brokers.

There are twelve or fifteen fire insurance companies in New York; as well as others for sea insurance. The system of individual underwriting is very little, if at all, practised here. A merchant who is extensively engaged in the foreign trade informs me, that the premiums for sea insurance are not so high in New York as in Britain, and that the companies in general settle for losses with more promptitude and liberality than our underwriters.

23*d*. Attended to-day the funeral of a young countryman, who died very suddenly yesterday morning. Invitations to funerals are here given only through the newspapers, and generally in the following form:—" Died here last evening, A. B.

His friends and acquaintances, with those of his son C. D., and his son-in-law E. F., are requested to attend his funeral this afternoon at five o'clock, from his late residence No. 1, G. street, without farther invitation." At the hour appointed, all who were acquainted with the family, or who may feel an inclination to testify their regard, assemble in their usual apparel, without regard to its colour, and follow the body to the burying ground in a column, two and two. There can be no doubt that as much sincere sympathy may be thus expressed, as by those who attend at our funerals, in crape and weepers—

"To feel or feign decorous woe;"

Yet the dark uniformity of the dress gives to the assembly an apparent unity of purpose and feeling, which can never be attained in a motley assemblage in differently coloured coats; and cannot be without a certain degree of corresponding impression, upon many of those who witness it. Here none but a few of the nearest relations wear black. The clergyman, the physician, and a few more of the more intimate friends receive each a large linen scarf, which is worn like a military belt, sloping across the body, and those who are thus marked out officiate as pall-bearers. These scarfs are in all cases presents to those who wear them; they contain in general as much linen as will make a shirt. This is the most exceptionable character-

istic in New York funerals; for the number of scarfs which are presented, is thought to mark in some measure the respectability of the family, and a misplaced desire of parade often leads into considerable expense those who are ill able to afford it.

In the instance to which I have alluded, a mahogany coffin containing the body of the young man was placed near the door, and the lid, which was hinged near the top, was folded down so as to expose the face of the corpse. What the origin or use of such a practice is I know not, but I have observed that the body is frequently placed in the hall, or an open bed-room, to give the company an opportunity of seeing it, of which many who attend avail themselves. When a considerable number had assembled a glass of wine was offered, which was in general declined, and the procession moved off without any previous religious service. Before interment, however, the coffin was conveyed into the church, and placed upon a platform immediately before the pulpit; the company attending the funeral seated themselves in the pews, and Dr. ——, standing behind the body, addressed them extemporaneously in a very solemn and impressive manner. The coffin was then carried out and consigned to one of the subterraneous brick vaults, which are common in the New York burying grounds. At another funeral which I attended here, the clergyman prayed and addressed the company, before

leaving the house, but the snow was then lying pretty deep on the ground, and this I understood to be the reason why the address was not delivered at the grave. The noxious system of tolling bells at funerals is most properly prohibited; as it ought to be every where.

While at Baltimore I saw the funeral of an infant which was attended solely by females, with the exception of the father of the child. All but the father and mother were dressed in white, with light coloured shawls and ribands, and the coffin which was of mahogany was carried by white ribands by four of the females. I did not follow it to the burying ground, but was informed that the parties were Methodists, and that it was peculiar to them to bury in that way.

Feb. 5th. I have just returned from New Haven, where I have spent eight days most agreeably.

Travelling in America is, so far as I can learn, much improved within these few years. In my letter from Buffalo you received a pretty minute account of the discomforts which I then experienced, but except on that occasion I have met with little that deserves the name. It may in general be said with regard to American travelling, that whenever you can avail yourself of a steam boat, you get along with much comfort and expedition; but that whenever you are obliged to have recourse to stages, you will find them in most respects several degrees inferior to those at home.

The steam boats are in general large vessels and swift sailers; and the sleeping births are always comfortable and in excellent order. The table is well provided, and the food in general quite as well cooked as in the inns. In most of them the table ware is of India china; and a new one in which I sailed on the Chesapeake, was furnished with dinner and tea services which had been manufactured at Canton expressly for herself, and enamelled with her picture and name. In the steam boats on the St. Lawrence, there is generally a more elegant dinner served up; the table of the Car of Commerce presented every delicacy of the season, and there was always a dessert of pastry, jellies, and ices, succeeded by dried fruit. You were however somewhat tempted to drink wine after dinner, which is never done in the American boats. Smoking segars is common every where; a light is always placed upon deck for this purpose, but in the American boats the decks are painted and kept remarkably clean, and there is a peremptory prohibition against spitting on them.

The fares of some of the boats I have already specified. The passage on lake Champlain was the dearest; 9 dollars, 40s. 6d. sterling, for 115 miles, including two meals. From New Haven to New York, 80 miles, the fare is 5 dollars, 22s. 6d. sterling, without any food. Between New York and Philadelphia, 90 miles, where the journey is performed part of the way in steam boats, and part in

stages, the fare varied from 5 to 9 dollars. From Philadelphia to Baltimore, 104 miles, performed in a similar way, the charge is 6 dollars.[11]

The American stages are of three kinds. The old-fashioned stage-waggons, which have been described in the letter from Buffalo; an improved construction of these, with doors, and three seats instead of four, which are chiefly found in Massachusetts; and post coaches, as they are called, which have been recently introduced on the roads between New York and Baltimore, and are beginning to make their appearance in some other places. The post coaches are something like one of our six seated stages, but with an additional seat in the centre, which enables them with close packing to contain nine inside; the roof in place of being flat is quite round, of course nothing can rest upon it; the luggage is contained in a kind of bag behind, and the driver sits on a low seat in front; one passenger may sit beside him but there are no other *outsides*. Between New York and Philadelphia these coaches run across the State of New Jersey, conveying the passengers from the steam boats on the one side to those on the other. Others run across the land between the Delaware and the Chesapeake.

[11] I observe by the New York papers that a very considerable reduction has taken place in some of these fares. A person may now travel from New York to Philadelphia for 2½ dollars, eleven shillings and three pence sterling, which is at the rate of three-halfpence sterling a mile.

The fares by the stages must by law not exceed seven cents a mile, about fourpence sterling. This is rather above the average price of inside seats in the stages at home; but where there is competition, as between New York and Philadelphia, the cost is often considerably less; there are no fees to drivers, and guards are unknown. One great inconvenience connected with stage travelling here, is the frequency with which you are obliged to shift from one carriage to another. Travelling by land between New Haven and New York we were in no less than five different carriages, and obliged to keep a sharp look-out at each change that our luggage did not go astray; this in bad weather is excessively annoying. The fare by the road is collected in the same piecemeal way, half a dollar here, three quarters there; each stage proprietor taking payment for his own portion of the road, and turning you out of his vehicle as soon as he has got you to the end of it. In the nine-seated post coaches the packing is almost intolerable; especially in hot weather. I have been in one coach which carried no more than six, but hitherto this is very uncommon.

The mail of the United States is carried both by steam boats and by stages. They have not attained to the regularity in the post office department which prevails at home, but they have made a nearer approach to it than could reasonably have been expected. Postages are lower than with us; on short

distances about one-fourth, on more considerable ones a third, and beyond 400 miles there is scarcely any relative proportion; a single letter carried from one extremity of the Union to the other, a distance of nearly four thousand miles, costs no more than a quarter of a dollar, thirteen pence half-penny sterling. Newspapers are not franked, but pay one cent each under 100 miles, and one cent and a half beyond that distance. The convenient system of sending parcels by coach which is carried to such perfection in Britain, is unknown here, and the consequence is that it is far more easy to send a small package from America to Britain, than to send it fifty miles back into the country. Pamphlets indeed may be sent by mail, at about the same rate *per sheet* as is charged for newspapers, but this regulation applies to no other article, and is a serious tax upon periodical literature.

The inns are the least comfortable part of road accommodation; and it is almost impossible for a stranger to enjoy in them that quietness, retirement, and sedulous attention to his comfort and convenience, which in general are so easily attainable at home. On arriving, the traveller and his luggage are ushered into the bar-room, as it is called, opening in general immediately from the street; behind a railing at one corner stands a man making punch at almost all hours, and a number of idlers hang about smoking segars and reading newspapers. In this room or in your bed-room you must spend

your leisure time, as you best can; every door open and every person at liberty to scrutinize your motions, and you his. I have been told that a private parlour may sometimes be obtained, but I never saw one, nor ever heard it asked for. Three times a-day a large bell rings, and in an adjoining hall with a sanded floor, breakfast, dinner, and tea, are served up, and permanent boarders and travellers sit down promiscuously; in country towns the host and hostess in general preside. There is always a profusion of food upon the table, and at breakfast and tea, beef steaks, sausages, fowls, fish, potatoes and pickles, are introduced in addition to what we usually expect. The breakfast hour is seven o'clock in summer and eight in winter, dinner at two or three, and tea, which passes also for supper, at seven.

I had been some time in America before I was able to keep up to my neighbours in their rapidity of despatching their meals. Breakfast rarely exceeds five minutes; they empty two half boiled eggs into a wine glass, and drink rather than eat them, swallow two cups of coffee, with a piece of toast and a sausage, and are off from table before you feel yourself comfortably seated in the chair. At dinner there is scarcely such a thing as one carving for another; every one for himself is the ordinary system. The bed-room is in general very small, and in most of the country towns has neither carpet nor curtains, and sometimes not even a wash-hand-basin, for which you must repair to the bar-room.

Occasionally you must put up with a double or even quadruple bedded room; the latter however is very rare, and even the former not frequent. You can scarcely ever escape without paying for boarding, which is generally a dollar and a half a-day, and in the principal towns two dollars; although you should dine out the whole week no abatement is made. When you stop only for part of a day the charge is half a dollar for breakfast or tea, half a dollar to a dollar for dinner, and a quarter for lodging. Boots, although he has not that name here, expects in the large towns, and in them only, a small gratuity when you go away, none of the other servants have any thing.

Much that has been written on the incivilities to which a stranger is exposed here, is destitute of truth. Generally speaking a traveller will meet with respectful treatment, if his own manners are not rude. The imperative tone which empty-pated coxcombs are prone to assume at home, would be resented here most indignantly, but if you *request* instead of *ordering*, you will rarely receive an uncivil reply. The country innkeeper is not unfrequently a man of some consequence in the neighbourhood, either from his property or from holding some official situation, and if you enter into conversation with him, you will often discover that under a plain exterior is concealed a great deal of shrewdness and information. Sometimes the landlord's daughter pours out tea or coffee at a side table, but

she always maintains a dignified deportment, and is respectfully treated by her guests. The females of every class whom I have seen employed in American inns, have been in all cases perfectly correct in their manners, nor did I ever see any rudeness offered to them. In waiters, stage drivers, and the other retainers of the road, you will find little of the obsequiousness which is common at home; they generally indeed speak to you more on the footing of equality than inferiority; I have once or twice had uncivil answers, but not more frequently I think than at home.

7th. I have as yet said little of the police of New York, or the state of morals.

The police is not obtrusive, and neither their patroles nor officers are discoverable by any particular uniform. I have however seen no great need of them; I do not recollect to have witnessed a squabble or riot of any kind during all the time which I have, first and last, spent here. If they would only banish the hogs and clean the pavements, I should think that one great object of a police is effectually attained. Of late, however, a good many petty depredations have been committed, without the detection of the agents, such as the carrying off of great coats, hats, and tartan plaids,[12] from the halls

[12] I was quite annoyed at the corruption of sense and grammar which prevails, both in writing and conversation, in reference to the highland costume. The noun *plaid* denoting the garment, they have changed into an adjective signifying the stuff, and murdering the

of the houses; indeed as all the doors open from without, there is no great difficulty in the exploit. An inmate of our boarding-house has lately lost in this way a smart London box coat, which had cost him a pretty large sum.

The watchmen at night carry no lantern; they are to be seen occasionally lurking under the shadow of a projecting corner, with a short batoon tucked under their arm, and a leathern cap, similar to that worn by the firemen. I can hardly tell you whether they cry the hour during the night or not; I do not recollect to have ever heard them. By an early hour in the morning, however, we have abundance of discordant noises in the streets. Men squalling *milk*, and negro boys shrieking *sweep*, as if there were no such thing as harmony in sounds. Barn-yard fowls cackle in orthodox octaves, but here you are assailed every morning with as choice an assortment of discords, as ever tortured the sensitive ear of an Italian composer.

The state of morals among the lower classes in New York is no better than is usually found in large cities. Perhaps, from the perpetual flow of strangers of every class through it, rather worse. Intemperance is every where a prevailing vice

pronunciation, that they might be in all things consistent, they talk of a *pladd* bonnet, *pladd* cloak, *pladd* stockings, &c. I wish we could convince them that this is quite unworthy of the readers of the Waverley novels, and that they might as well talk of a *nightcap shirt*, or a *neckcloth pair of small-clothes*:—moreover that *plaid* rhymes to *maid*.

among the inferior ranks of society in America; nor is it surprising that it should be so. The excessive heat of the climate in the summer months produces violent thirst; to drink cold water is then very unsafe, and the use of spirits, even from prudential motives, is exceedingly apt to produce a fondness for stimulants which may lead to consequences of the worst kind. The very low price of spirits makes the means of intoxication easy, even to the poorest, and the number of houses licensed to retail ardent spirits in the city is said to amount to about 1500; there is reason to suspect, however, that there are others engaged in the trade in a less legal way. A pamphlet was published in 1817, by a person who was employed under the auspices of a Missionary Society to survey the streets and lanes, where the dregs of the population reside, to ascertain their condition as to the means of moral and religious instruction. The depravity and wretchedness[13] which this report lays open to us, might stagger the belief of those who have not had occasion to know, from personal observation, something of the

[13] An instance of distress at once revolting and ludicrous, was mentioned to me by a lady. The sick family of a poor Irish emigrant, occupying part of a miserable apartment which sheltered other three families, one in each corner, was visited by some benevolent females who supplied them with food and clothing. After a few days the ladies repeated their call, and in reply to their enquiries, "Oh we should be *very* comfortable," said the mother, "were it not that the people in that corner persist in taking boarders, some of whom are not very agreeable!"

abominable wickedness of large cities. I think it unnecessary to transcribe any of its statements; they would afford you no pleasure, and if we have not equally revolting pictures of society to contemplate among ourselves, I suspect it is only because no one has entered upon the investigation with such patient and persevering industry, as the conscientious and zealous individual to whom I have alluded. He busied himself at the same time in distributing the Bible, of which he gave away between 600 and 700 copies.

As one of the various institutions which have been formed for alleviating the sufferings of the more neglected of our species, the Orphan Asylum deserves commemoration. This house for helpless infancy is one of the many results of female benevolence. I visited it on a fine afternoon in the month of October, and saw the chubby-faced inmates running about in great glee and comfort. It contained at that time about 130 boys and girls; who are carefully educated and instructed, and at proper ages taught various useful arts, by which they are enabled to provide honestly and honourably for their own support. The domestic economy was under the management of a Scotsman and his wife, who had once belonged to our native city; the husband recognised me as soon as he heard my name, as the grandson of one whom he had in former days known.

10*th*. Before quitting this land of freedom, as I

hope soon to do, it is fitting perhaps that I should say something as to the kind of liberty which it enjoys. Much however does not remain to be said on this subject. We are all aware that for white men it is the freest country upon the face of the earth, both in a civil and a religious point of view. The people are here beyond all question more distinctly recognised as the source of power, than even in our own highly favoured land. I doubt however, very much, whether this is not carried to an extreme which is likely to be one day inconsistent with the real dignity and prosperity of the country. A democracy develops more fully than any other form of government the energies of the nation, but it greatly increases the risk of these energies being misdirected. When numbers, rather than property and intelligence, are the preponderating principle in the system, the chance is that the system will go wrong. The *many* are not yet sufficiently enlightened, rightly to judge on a large proportion of legislative questions; nor if they could, are they yet sufficiently under the influence of the precept 'whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them,' to act conscientiously in matters where self-interest, real or imaginary, comes into view. Already popular clamour has in more than one instance compelled the abandonment of salutary measures, because the many-headed sovereign could not appreciate their importance, or could not be reconciled to their temporary inconvenience.

When the population becomes more dense, the means of support more precarious, and the consciousness of political power more universal, what is to be the safeguard of the country against a general partition of property, or some other measure equally destructive?

I do not in these remarks institute any comparison, between Americans and natives of other countries. I feel persuaded that a pure democracy is not fitted for fallen creatures, and was never intended for them. *Vox Populi*, so far from being at all times *Vox Dei*, is not unfrequently the very reverse. The natural aristocracy of intellect, and still more perhaps the artificial aristocracy of property, must have a preponderating influence in the scale; or the bond of cohesion is broken, and the principle of order overthrown. The happy medium, is, where the equilibrium between property and numbers is most steadily preserved; where security of person and property is enjoyed, and full opportunity afforded for talent and industry to benefit themselves without injuring their neighbours. Whether the supreme magistrate be hereditary or elective, a king or a president, is a matter of comparative indifference; if he is the former, the country is saved from the incessant annoyance and intriguing connected with popular elections, and all the misery resulting from disputed nominations; no doubt the chance is that a smaller average amount of talent will usually be found for the duties of the office, but

where the public mind is well informed and properly directed, this is not generally of great importance. The abstract of perfection in political systems, has certainly not yet been seen in the world; but I cannot help thinking that the British is still the nearest to it. I should rejoice to see our great representative body rendered more consistent with its professed constitution, and I feel strongly persuaded that not many years will go round, till the strength of public opinion will compel its improvement; but I would rather that it should remain as it is, than see it assimilated in character and properties to that of the United States. We err on the safer side, and that is a great matter in human institutions. What improvements are yet to be made in the science of government no one can pretend to foretell, but with history and observation to guide us, I cannot but rejoice that my lot has been cast under the limited monarchy of Great Britain, the happy combination of King, Lords, and Commons.

Party spirit here does not seem at present to run very high; at least an election which took place of representatives for Congress, soon after my first arrival in New York, was managed with almost as little stir as takes place in Glasgow at the election of a commissioner of police. The American flag was flying over a house in which a ballot-box was deposited, and the voters entering with their suffrages upon a scrap of paper, dropped them into the box through an opening in the lid, with as little

emotion as you would have in throwing a letter into the post office. I stood in the room for a short time; the voters came very slowly forward, talked of the weather to the returning officers, and went away apparently very careless about the result. A large proportion of those who were entitled to vote did not trouble themselves to do it. It was remarked to me that this was the first occasion, on which any one had ventured in New York to propose himself as a candidate by public advertisement; hitherto it has been customary to be put in nomination through the agency of political friends. The experiment however failed.

In the religious freedom which America enjoys, I see a more unquestioned superiority. In Britain we enjoy toleration, but here they enjoy liberty. If government has a right to grant toleration to any particular set of religious opinions, it has also a right to take it away; and such a right with regard to opinions exclusively religious I would deny in all cases, because totally inconsistent with the nature of religion, in the proper meaning of the word, and equally irreconcileable with civil liberty, rightly so called. God has given to each of us his inspired word, and a rational mind to which that word is addressed. He has also made known to us, that each for himself must answer at his tribunal for his principles and conduct. What man then, or body of men, has a right to tell me, "You do not think aright on religious subjects, but we will tolerate your

error?" The answer is a most obvious one, "Who gave you authority to dictate?—or what exclusive claim have you to infallibility?" If my sentiments do not lead me into conduct inconsistent with the welfare of my fellow-creatures, the question as to their accuracy or fallacy is one between God and my own conscience; and though a fair subject for argument, is none for compulsion.

The Inquisition undertook to regulate astronomical science, and kings and parliaments have with equal propriety presumed to legislate upon questions of theology. The world has outgrown the former, and it will one day be ashamed that it has been so long of outgrowing the latter. The founders of the American republic saw the absurdity of employing the Attorney-General to refute deism and infidelity, or of attempting to influence opinion on abstract subjects, by penal enactment; they saw also the injustice of taxing the whole, to support the religious opinions of the few, and have set an example which older governments will one day or other be compelled to follow.

In America the question is not, What is his creed?—but, What is his conduct? Jews[14] have all the privileges of christians; episcopalians, presbyterians, and independents meet on common ground. No religious test is required to qualify for public office, except in some cases a mere

[14] While I was in New York the sheriff of the city was a Jew.

verbal assent to the truth of the christian religion; and in every court throughout the country, it is optional whether you give your affirmation or your oath.

It has been often said that the disinclination of the heart to religious truth, renders a state establishment absolutely necessary, for the purpose of christianizing the country. Ireland and America can furnish abundant evidence of the fallacy of such an hypothesis. In the one country we see an ecclesiastical establishment of the most costly description, utterly inoperative in dispelling ignorance or refuting error; in the other no establishment of any kind, and yet religion making daily and hourly progress, promoting enquiry, diffusing knowledge, strengthening the weak and mollifying the hardened. The religious aspect of America is no doubt chequered with gloomy spots, and I believe that in a large portion of the southern States, ignorance and irreligion prevail to a deplorable extent; but even in our own comparatively small portion of the globe's surface, how large a proportion of parishes are to be found, where there is all the apparatus of religion, a steeple, a benefice, and an incumbent, but an utter famine of the bread of life? and in how many more do we find that dissenterism, that is systematic opposition to the established religion, has been the sole means of preserving the knowledge of the truth?

When we dispassionately examine the history

and present condition of the various divisions of the United States, we shall be constrained to admit that religion has made as extensive progress as we could possibly have expected from any establishment; nay that it is probably in as active a state of advancement, in the older sections of the country, as in any part of the world. If any would imagine that an establishment would have improved matters, let him look to Canada; and even setting aside all reference to the French population let him tell us what has been effected, among those of British descent, by a lordly episcopacy, supported by annual stipends from government, and a seventh part of all granted lands. I refer, of course, in these remarks to evangelical religion, properly so called.

As to the probable continuance of the various civil and religious privileges which America enjoys, different opinions prevail. Some fondly anticipate, that every succeeding year will see this vast republic making rapid advances in internal strength and external influence;—that art and science are to germinate under the Hesperian sky as they have never yet done, and shoot up into a luxuriance of growth for which there was not even space in the more ancient hemisphere. Others there are, who, with the same kindly feelings to the soil, and the same ardent attachment to republican principles, do notwithstanding feel occasionally some misgivings of mind as to the probable

endurance of the federal compact; and even anticipate that at no very distant period, the western States will sever themselves from the alliance of those that border upon the Atlantic, and that two mighty kingdoms, or perhaps empires, will be raised upon the ruins of the commonwealth.

Nothing has more baffled the sagacity of men than speculations on the future destinies of nations, and on no subject merely sublunary, have the most plausible theories and prognostications been so thoroughly set at nought. The vicissitudes of the last twenty years have proved, that nothing merely political can be safely said to be either impossible or improbable. Mind has burst the shackles by which it was so long held in thraldom, and commenced a career of triumph over ignorance and error, to which there seem to be no assignable limits. No where is this change more active than in the United States, and difficulties which now alarm those who wish well to the nation's union and prosperity, may gradually lessen and disappear as future eras develop themselves.

The two most formidable evils with which America has to contend, are negro slavery and universal suffrage.

Till slavery is got rid of, its demoralizing influence will be every day extending itself; nor is it easy to see how the slave-holding States can possibly expect, long to escape the horrors of a

negro insurrection. The black population, it is well ascertained, is increasing in a quicker ratio than the white; and in some of the States the latter are actually beginning to outnumber the former; the history of St. Domingo should not be forgotten by the free citizens.

Liberal opinions can never exist, much less flourish, in the breast of slave-holders. They may be violent republicans to those who aspire to a superiority over them, but they will ever be relentless tyrants to every one who in any way falls under their power. They may themselves throw off the yoke of a master, but the result will be improved to confirm to themselves more absolute sway. They may esteem liberty sweet, but they will also think it far too sweet to be tasted by those who are below them. A British Duke has much more in him of true republican principle, than an American planter. The nobleman knows experimentally that his station in society is altogether conventional; and that with all his ribands and his stars, the lowest of his footmen cannot be detained one hour in his service beyond what he himself agrees to, nor subjected to a single indignity but at the peril of him who offers it. Cart whips and branding irons form no part of the machinery by which his household is swayed.

Slave-holders, in short, can never in their general character be otherwise than detrimental to the true dignity and prosperity of any country. They

cannot appreciate the value of equal laws, and therefore cannot be supposed capable of either making or administering them. The miserable creatures whom they hold in control, in place of strengthening the body politic, increase its weakness and its danger, in geometrical proportion to their increase in numbers. They operate also as an immense mound erected to oppose the progress of knowledge and religion. "I could wish," said a Virginian to me, "that we were rid of our slaves; but while they are slaves, our own safety requires that they should be kept in ignorance." The position is false, as the fruits of the labours of missionaries in the West Indies have proved; but supposing it to be true, how horrible is the idea! It is impossible that a nation can ever attain to true greatness, where such a sentiment is to any considerable extent prevalent; accidental circumstances may elevate it to a temporary degree of influence in the political world, but there is a rottenness at the heart which will sooner or later be its ruin.

But even were slavery abolished to-morrow, throughout the whole of the country, the effects of it would not disappear for generations to come. It has already produced a feeling towards the blacks which is of too inveterate a kind to be easily or speedily removed. They would still be regarded as a degraded race, and still excluded from a reciprocation of those kind offices which

form the cement of society. It must be an appalling thing, that between a body of men so numerous as they are, and the rest of the community, there should be no connecting tie of reciprocal goodwill, no probable means of thorough amalgamation.

The other great obstacle to the prosperity of the American nation, universal suffrage,[15] will not exhibit the full extent of its evil tendency for a long time to come; and it is possible that ere that time some antidote may be discovered, to prevent or alleviate the mischief which we might naturally expect from it. It does however seem ominous of evil, that so little ceremony is at present used with the constitutions of the various States. The people of Connecticut, not contented with having prospered abundantly under their old system, have lately assembled a convention, composed of delegates from all parts of the country, in which the former order of things has been condemned entirely, and a completely new constitution manufactured; which, among other things, provides for the same process being again gone through, as soon as the *profanum vulgus* takes it into its head to desire it.[16] A sorry legacy the British Constitution would

[15] In the greater number of the States, every white person 21 years of age who has paid taxes for one year, is a voter; in others some additional qualifications are required, but they are not such as materially to limit the privilege.

[16] The people of the State of New York have subsequently taken a similar fancy to *clout the cauldron.* (1822.)

be to us, if it were at the mercy of a meeting of delegates, to be summoned whenever a majority of the people take a fancy for a new one; and I am afraid that if the Americans continue to cherish a fondness for such repairs, the highlandman's pistol, with its new stock, lock, and barrel, will bear a close resemblance to what is ultimately produced. This is universal suffrage in its most pestilential character.

The jealousies and conflicting interests of the individual States, have induced a belief with many that the federal union cannot be of very long duration; but it is probable after all, that this is a danger more imaginary than real. The union of the States is one of a very peculiar kind, and not liable to the dangers of an ordinary confederacy among independent communities. Each of them is sovereign within its own territory, in all matters of an internal and domestic kind; but all have surrendered to the direction and control of the general union, their national commerce and foreign relations. The two branches of the national Congress are characterized by the same distinction. In the Senate, each State, however small or however large its territory and population, has two members; while in the House of Representatives there is a member for every thirty thousand free inhabitants, and of course the representation is that of the people, not that of the States.

This separation of internal and external legisla-

tion has both advantages and disadvantages. Local interests and wants are probably more thoroughly known and attended to, than they could be by one general government; but so many separate and independent sources of civil and criminal legislation, facilitate the escape of offenders, and indirectly tend to multiply crime. A person, for instance, who commits murder or robbery on one bank of a river, or one side of a fence, cannot be apprehended or tried for it on the opposite, without a special application from the government of the one State to that of the other; and while this process is going forward, the offender escapes into a third. The consequence is, that the application is very seldom made, and rogues may travel from Maine to Georgia, levying contributions from every State, and making off for the next whenever it becomes unsafe to remain.

The abolition of some of this local legislation and jurisdiction, would undoubtedly be advantageous; but the various sections of the country cling too fondly to their hereditary privileges, to permit the probability of such a result; and the only alternative, that is compatible with the independence and freedom of the country, is to maintain inviolate the federal coalition. Of this there is a general and daily increasing conviction, and when public opinion in a free country is unanimous upon any subject, it is not a trifling matter of casual incon-

venience that will alter or overcome it. War seems to be almost the only instrument by which this could be effected; and probably even war could not do it, unless it were one with Britain. No other power has a navy that could cope with that of the United States, and the geographical position of the country renders it very secure from a land attack. I trust however that Britain and America are now too well acquainted with their mutual interests, to allow the supposition of future hostilities; and therefore that the result of such a contingency, will remain for ever a matter of mere speculation.

On the subject of emigration to America, and the eligibility of the country for a place of residence, much has been already written, by those who have seen more of the interior than I have; yet it is a subject respecting which so much interest has been excited in my native country, that it should not perhaps be passed over in silence. The prudence or imprudence of emigration must of course depend upon individual and contingent circumstances, but a few general principles ought to regulate the decision. A kind of Americo-mania has possessed many of our countrymen; who seemed to think that the land flowed so abundantly with good things, that they needed only to open their mouths and let them have entrance. I need hardly say that this is a gross delusion. Whoever would prosper in America must work for it, and work

hard too; and in many cases struggle with obstacles which are unknown at home.

Some come out with the intention of clearing and cultivating land. To the difficulties with which these have to struggle, I have already alluded. If a man's mind however is made up to penetrate into the back woods, and fell trees, shoot bears and panthers, kill rattlesnakes, eat, sleep, and die, a stranger to almost all the comforts of social life, but content to suffer every privation, if he can reasonably hope that his children or grand-children will be better off—the probability is, if his days are not cut short by the inseparable hardships of such a life, that he will attain the object of his ambition. The land is doubtless productive, and he will find no difficulty in ordinary seasons of raising plentiful crops; he may occasionally be unable, however, to procure a remunerating price for his produce, and many prevented for want of this from paying the purchase money of their lands, have seen them sold by a sheriff's warrant, after years of labour have been expended on them, and the whole proceeds swept off to the United States' treasury. I do not however mean to insinuate, that this is any thing else than an exception to the general rule; and doubtless, in many cases of its occurrence, indolence and dissipation have been as much its causes as unavoidable misfortune.

Others come out with the purpose of settling in the cities, to prosecute their various handicrafts

and trades, by which perhaps they were able to live tolerably well at home, but not to get so speedily rich as they had desired; here they think there will be a wider field, and less competition. Let such think twice before starting. Americans are a shrewd, enterprizing, speculating race, and he would need to have both wit and industry, who enters into rivalry with them. Not many nooks will be found, in any of their considerable towns, where there is not as much competition as at home, in every profitable branch of industry; and if the emigrant has not something better than this *peradventure* to depend upon, the chance is that he will be grievously disappointed.

With some of both classes political discontent is the moving cause. The individual wishes to find himself in a country where he can hold up his head in haughty independence, and say,—"My rank is equal to that of any man around me, and there is not an office in the state to which I am precluded from aspiring." To be sure in America he may say all this, at least his son may,[17] if he is born in the country, but what the better is he?—not a carman in the street but may say the same, and he will find himself as far from the top of the tree as ever. If he has not taxes to pay in one shape, he will find that he will not escape from them in another;[18]

[17] None but a native can be President.

[18] I have already noted the cost of the principal items in housekeeping; the following are the prices which I paid for the clothes

and let him growl as much and as loud as he pleases, he will find his individual influence, in getting the laws amended, to be quite as little in America as in Britain.

In a word, my advice would be; If you are enjoying a moderate degree of prosperity at home, do not think of quitting it. Your success in America is at best problematical; while the difference of customs, manner of living, and climate, is what many will find it very difficult to endure. Of those who emigrate, there are certainly many who prosper, and some who accumulate fortunes; but how many are there at home who are equally successful, who have never stirred from their native city? Hundreds have come to America who bitterly lament their folly; and who have found, to their dear-bought experience, that gold neither paves the streets, nor grows upon the trees.

There cannot be a doubt however that the United States are a rapidly rising nation. There is much in their political and social system that may need improvement; but there is also much in both from which the older Hemisphere might profitably take instruction. They know nothing of the feudal barbarisms, which yet in a thousand ways obstruct the progress of knowledge and improvement even in Britain. There are no close corporations

which I had occasion to purchase. A coat, 36 dollars, £8, 2, sterling; vest, 7 dollars, 31s, 6d; pantaloons, 8 to 10 dollars, 36s. to 45s; hat, 10 dollars, 45s; short boots, 9 dollars, 40s.

to prevent an ingenious man from reaping the reward of his skill, in any branch to which he may direct it. At home, were I to discover an improved way of baking a loaf, or a more expeditious and durable way of constructing a shoe, I could not practise my invention. Both are chartered crafts; in the one of which I should have to purchase my freedom, and in the other I could not purchase it at all. No such exclusive privileges exist here.

Discovery in arts[19] and sciences have already made rapid progress in America, and in all probability will continue to do so. There is an elasticity in the national character, which makes them in some measure discontented with beaten tracks;—all are aiming at something new; and when all are aiming, some must be successful.

[19] The most useful of American inventions is probably the *saw-gin*, by a Mr. Whitney, of Massachusetts, a machine for clearing the fibres of cotton wool from the seeds. It is said that every person employed at this machine, produces as much as a thousand persons picking with the hands. The saw-gin is used in clearing the *green* seed, the most hardy and productive species, but which in consequence of the stronger adherence of the fibre, was for a long period much less cultivated than the *black*. One of the Judges in the State of Georgia, in charging a jury, thus dilates upon its amazing utility. "The whole interior of the southern States was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention, and employ their industry; when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them, which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age it has presented us a lucrative employment. Individuals who were depressed in poverty, and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability.

As merchants, none but the British can match them for restless activity and enterprize; and they are happily free from some of the fetters which encumber our motions. There is no East India Company to annoy them with its monopoly; and they are already the favourites in the Chinese market, in spite of the influence of our eastern nabobs. Their merchant ships probably excel those of all nations for elegance of model, and rapidity of sailing, and there is not a free port in the world where their sailors may not be found.

Of their future destiny and influence we can say nothing; but he is not a friend to his species, who does not wish well to the United States. A grand experiment in politics and religion, is there going forward—an experiment which, if successful, will

Our debts have been paid off; our capitals increased; and our lands are trebled in value. We cannot express the weight of obligation, which the country owes to this invention." See an interesting article on Improvements in Machinery in the North American Review, No. XXXV. p. 410. The most elegant of their inventions is undoubtedly that of Mr. Perkins, for multiplying engravings on metal. The happy result of the artist's skill is thus rendered permanent, and the use of the graver, for any but the first plate, completely superseded. (1822.)

Two new inventions, by natives of America, are now announced to us. The one, a method of casting and composing types, by Dr. Church of Boston, and the other a new construction of the steam engine, by the same Mr. Perkins who has been already named. What is said as to the nature of these inventions, so greatly exceeds all previous ideas of possibility, that if they are to any considerable degree successful, we shall scarcely find terms in which to eulogize the merits of their authors. (1823.)

be productive of unestimated happiness to the human race; and whether successful or not, will, we know, be one in that chain of events, which is to issue in diffusing over the whole earth,

> " ——— a liberty
> Unsung by poets, and by senators unpraised;
> Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
> Of earth and hell confederate take away!"

LETTER XX.

LETTER XX.

ANECDOTES OF PREACHERS—SERMONS—STATE OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SECTS—PRESBYTERIANS—EPISCOPALIANS—METHODISTS—BAPTISTS—MINISTERS' SALARIES—PEW RENTS—MODE OF MAKING COLLECTIONS—OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH—BIBLE SOCIETIES—MISSIONARY SOCIETIES—TRACT SOCIETIES—SUNDAY SCHOOL SOCIETIES—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS—RECIPROCAL REGARD WHICH OUGHT TO EXIST BETWEEN BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

New York, March, 1819.

DURING last month I visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, for the second time. I have now the prospect of soon leaving this western continent; and having already extracted from my diary most of the miscellaneous information which was likely to be interesting, it only remains that I should give you some account of the religious characteristics of New York, which shall be interwoven with a little information of a more general kind upon religious subjects.

On the first Sabbath which I passed in this country I was conducted to hear a young presbyterian minister, who had been but a short time before invested with the pastoral charge. The passage to which he directed our attention was, "And thou

shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." Having stated that names in old times were generally descriptive, and that 'Jesus' signified 'Saviour,' he remarked, that that appellation although exclusively His in its highest sense, who 'gave himself a ransom' for his people, was yet not improperly applied, in a subordinate acceptation, to those who had been instrumental in warding off some great danger or evil from their fellow creatures. "There are few nations in the world," said the preacher, "who cannot refer to some splendid name in their history, as that of one who well merits the honourable appellation of *the saviour of his country.* We ourselves, my brethren," he added, kindling into a glow of animation, "young though we be in our political existence,—we can tell of a little band of heroes, who rescued us from the hands of enemies, worse than the Amorite and Hittite!"

It was rather remarkable that so singular a burst of political warmth should meet me on the first Sabbath that I spent in this country; and the more so, that from that day to the present I have not, so far as I recollect, ever heard a single sentence from the pulpit which either directly or indirectly referred to the conduct of my native country towards the United States. Had I sailed for Britain the following day I should of course have supposed it a common practice, but I am now able to say with confidence that it is the very reverse;

this young minister indeed, I am well assured, is rather friendly than otherwise to Britain, and the unwonted burst of patriotic ardour was only to be attributed to warmth of temperament, and his fondness for direct appeals to the feelings and affections of his hearers.

Notwithstanding this singular exordium, he gave us a judicious discourse; accurately composed, and delivered with much animation and effect. I have heard him on only one other occasion, when he selected the passage, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." This was a less imposing discourse as to composition and delivery; but the passage was well illustrated, and a great many wholesome and important truths plainly stated, and strikingly enforced.

This preacher is regarded by some of his older brethren in the ministry, as being likely to attain to a very distinguished rank among American pulpit orators, when riper years shall have matured his judgment and his taste, and somewhat checked the exuberance of his fancy. I heard him one evening address the members of a missionary society at an anniversary meeting, and it was truly gratifying to listen to the eloquence of his appeals. He progressively rose from the ordinary topics of such addresses, to a steady elevation of thought, and splendour of imagery, which I have very seldom heard equalled, either here or at home; and when he sketched the nobleness of the missionary's aim, and

the awaiting triumphs and joys of the unseen world, it seemed indeed impossible that any one should listen with indifference.[1]

In most of the divisions of the Presbyterian body, in New York, ministers are to be found of talent and celebrity. These divisions are, the church under the General Assembly, the Associate Synod, the Associate Reformed Synod, the Dutch Church, and the Reformed Presbyterians, or Cameronians.

Dr. ——, I have attended very frequently. This preacher's discourses are in general carefully composed, argumentative, and impressive; with more of what is sometimes termed *unction* in them, than most which I have heard elsewhere. His sentiments are decidedly Calvinistic, and some of the more characteristic doctrines of the system afford frequent topics of discourse. His manner in the pulpit is lively, and if not properly speaking graceful, is yet free from any very obvious defect; his enunciation is accurate and emphatic, approaching sometimes to abruptness; and although he

[1] I observe by the American Journals, that this preacher has subsequently resigned the charge of the congregation in New York, in consequence of receiving an appointment to a Professorship in one of the Colleges. This, if I could judge from what I heard, is perhaps a more appropriate sphere for one of his peculiar talents and general cast of mind. A few such professors as he is likely to be, if his industry is equal to his talents, would give celebrity to any academical institution, and would be likely to produce an extensive influence on the intellectual character of the country.

reads his discourses, it is with so much facility, and so much spirit and earnestness, that it is scarcely possible to be indifferent or inattentive. He wears no gown or band, but is plainly dressed in black; his person is slender, and not above the middle size; his hair dark, and somewhat curled. The services of the Sabbath are conducted pretty nearly as in some Presbyterian churches at home. The minister is generally in the pulpit a few minutes before the hour of meeting; as soon as the hour has struck, he comes forward to the cushion, and stretching out his hands, the whole congregation rises, while he offers up a short prayer for the Divine presence and blessing. He then gives out a psalm or hymn, from Dr. Watts' collection; the singing of which is succeeded by his reading a chapter; another psalm is sung, when he reads aloud the various notes of those who request to be remembered in the prayers of the congregation, and never fails to introduce the whole, however numerous they may sometimes be and however minute in circumstantial detail, with a felicity and readiness which have often surprised me. His discourse, occupying from forty-five to fifty minutes, succeeds; afterwards a short prayer, a psalm, and the usual benediction.

His congregation is numerous, and the church is in general well filled. The members are much attached to their pastor, and it is said have been exemplary in their liberality to him. They have

a weekly evening meeting for prayer, which is open to strangers, and is well attended. It was formerly customary for some of the private members to deliver an exhortation at these meetings, but by desire of the presbytery this has been discontinued. Many of the younger members of the congregation, of both sexes, have associated themselves into what are called Bible classes. These classes, of which there are several, attend by rotation once a-week at the minister's house, to repeat and compare scripture passages, and answer the pastor's questions on the subjects which come before them. This has become a very common system among the congregations here, and must be productive of much benefit.

Dr. ——, belonging to another class of Presbyterians, is no less celebrated in the religious world, and I have had also frequent opportunities of hearing his public ministrations. On doctrinal points I believe these two clergymen are pretty nearly agreed, although the different tone of their minds leads them to give prominence to rather a different class of subjects in their discourses. Dr. ——'s pulpit is one of the more modern American fashion, and differs considerably from any that I have seen at home. It consists of a platform, about four feet above the level of the floor, of pretty considerable extent, and with a flight of steps at each end; in front is a flat cushion, raised about three feet above the platform, terminated on

each side by a low open railing, reaching to the steps. Against the wall are three mahogany dining room chairs, the centre one of which has arms, and a considerable space intervenes between the chairs and the cushion. This form of a pulpit is becoming very common in modern churches, and strikes me as an improvement upon the old ones, in which the minister is so completely boxed up.

Dr. ——'s figure is tall and imposing; he walks up the pulpit steps with much solemnity, carrying a psalm book in his hand, with his finger inserted between the leaves, and seating himself in the arm-chair, looks round for a moment upon the congregation. He also disdains canonicals. His brow is smooth, his forehead arched, and sparingly covered in the centre with smooth and soft hair, his eyebrows have rather an aspect of sternness, his nose is straight and somewhat slender, his lips generally compressed. While sitting in the chair, his whole person is seen, even to the shoes, excepting by a very few near the centre of the church. Coming forward to the cushion, he announces and reads out a psalm or hymn; then turning, walks back and seats himself till it is sung. The clerk in most other churches occupies a chair in the open space before the pulpit, but in this one he is perched in front of the gallery, directly opposite the minister, and, as usual here, names aloud to the congregation the tune which he is about to commence.

After the preliminary services are over, the

minister comes forward, and taking up a tumbler of water from under the cushion, swallows a mouthful, as he occasionally also does during the discourse; then taking out from the same place a quarto volume, apparently of Scott's Bible, opens it flat upon the cushion,—announces his text, and without notes of any kind proceeds with his sermon, which is not unfrequently, so far as I can judge from appearances, in a considerable degree extemporary.

His discourses, as might be expected if my supposition is correct, are somewhat unequal. Often the vigour and range of his mental powers conspicuously display themselves, in the exposition of a doubtful passage, or the refutation of a popular and plausible error, but at other times his remarks are comparatively obvious, perhaps even commonplace. His eloquence at times bursts upon you like a thunder storm, and the most brilliant conceptions flash out in language copious, rich, and classical; at other times his selection of words is careless, and even colloquialisms escape him. In criticism he is generally accurate, although sometimes, as I have thought, apt rather to cut thant o untie.

I was present one day when this clergyman ordained three persons of his congregation as elders, and other three as deacons, for he recognizes a necessity for both. On this occasion he delivered a discourse in defence of the Presbyterian form of church government, in which he showed but little

mercy to those of opposite sentiments. At the conclusion, he called the individuals forward by name, stated that they had been regularly chosen to the respective offices, and no objections having been offered to their appointment, he now asked them in the presence of God and of the congregation, whether they willingly accepted of the appointments, and promised faithfully to perform their respective duties. All signified their assent, and he concluded by a suitable prayer.

The Presbyterian churches here observe the ordinance of the Lord's Supper once a month. On the preceding Friday evening there is a preparatory sermon, and the names of all new communicants are publicly announced; with information as to whether they have been received in virtue of previous connexion with other congregations, or in consequence of application to the session, and the usual examination.

The Reformed Dutch Church in New York is an exceedingly respectable body of christians. I have repeatedly attended evening sermon in one of their churches, and had in general much pleasure in the discourses and worship.

Dr. ——, one of the pastors of this congregation, for they have a plurality, is now an aged man, and much beloved by his flock. There is nothing in the literary character of his discoures particularly striking; indeed some of the younger ministers in this respect considerably surpass him;

but there is a warmth of devotional feeling in his addresses, which finds its way most powerfully to the heart. In prayer he is peculiarly ardent and spiritual, and though prone to rather lengthened services, they are so entirely the result of glowing emotion, and so thoroughly imbued with true christian spirit, that to be in any degree weary of them, would in general be characteristic in the hearer of lamentable callousness and indifference. There is in this church, which is large and numerously attended, a very fine organ; and the tunes which I have heard selected in worship, have been in many instances those older and simpler melodies with which Scotland has been long familiar; and although I doubt the propriety, on abstract principles, of instrumental accompaniments in the worship of God, I own that I have felt, on several occasions, the elevating influence of the organ's rich and swelling harmony, breathing in unison with the voices of the congregation.

Of the Episcopal clergymen whom I have occasionally heard in New York, there is one whose piety and earnestness I cannot but esteem. He was till within these few years a distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar, enjoying an extensive and very lucrative practice, but according to report a stranger for many years to the power of religion. He, however, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, produced on him that change, without which splendid talents are to their pos-

sessor in many respects loss instead of gain. He soon after relinquished the profession in which golden success still continued to attend him, and from a heartfelt desire for the good of his fellow creatures, procured ordination and a church as an Episcopal clergyman. It is said that the emoluments of his rectorship are wholly devoted to benevolent purposes.

This clergyman's sentiments and conduct are in some respects conspicuously contrasted with that of others in the same denomination; for while they, as I shall have occasion hereafter to state, abstain from all connexion with Missionary and Bible societies, unless episcopacy and the prayer book are recognised as essential accompaniments of the gospel, he unites heart and hand with those who without respect of persons or of systems, send forth the Bible without note or comment, as the source not only of the religion, but of all the true religion of protestants.

It would be tedious to enlarge with equal minuteness respecting other ministers in New York, I shall therefore confine myself to a rapid glance at the state of the different denominations; and intersperse an occasional remark as to the characteristics of their system, so far as I have been able to form an opinion from what I have myself observed.

The Presbyterians, as being more numerous in New York than any other sect, seem entitled to

precedence in our catalogue. The various classes into which these are divided have at least eighteen places of worship. Of these, six belong to the congregations under the General Assembly, which body corresponds in almost every particular except the matter of patronage and State influence, with the national church of Scotland; seven to the Reformed Dutch Church; three to the Associate Reformed Synod, corresponding with the Burghers of Scotland; one to the Associate Synod, or Antiburghers; and one to the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, or Cameronians.

Of these, it is obvious that all but the Dutch Church have been the result of emigration from our native country.

Under the General Assembly, which meets annually in Philadelphia, there are altogether thirteen synods, fifty-four presbyteries, and somewhere about 900 churches. The first presbytery was formed about the year 1720, and consisted of three ministers. Additions were made to their number, partly from among ministers from Scotland and Ireland, and partly from among the congregationalists of New England, who very generally unite with the presbyterian body when they leave their native States. A difference of sentiment however existed between these two parties, which resulted in a complete separation, about the year 1745, in consequence of the arrival and preaching of Whitfield. By the New England party he was hailed

with enthusiasm, by the others he was regarded with abhorrence. At the period of this rupture there were two synods, that of New York, and that of Philadelphia; the New England party, called subsequently the New Lights, were the dominant power in the former, and the others, who gloried in the name of Old Lights, in the latter. After a separation of seven years a reunion was effected, principally through the exertions of Dr. Witherspoon, formerly of Paisley, then President of Princeton college. The General Assembly was constituted in 1787, when there were no more than four synods, and about 200 churches.

This body is certainly upon the increase, and its ministers are in general men of piety, talent, and education. Its principal strength lies in New York and Pennsylvania, it has little or no footing in the eastern or western States, and not a great deal in the southern.

The Associate Reformed Synod, corresponding with the Burghers among us, has under it about a hundred churches; the Associate Synod, or Antiburgher, about half as many. These denominations although also respectable, are I believe not likely to increase much, for their new congregations in inland districts very frequently form a union with the General Assembly. Indeed in this country, where the absence of all national establishments does away with the principal obstacles to a general union among Presbyterians, it is rather

a matter of surprise that the original Scotish classification should survive, and it is not improbable that in the lapse of time the General Assembly will gradually absorb the minor divisions. The principal cause probably of their being hitherto preserved distinct, has been the frequent accession to the individual congregations of persons who have emigrated from Scotland; and who bring with them less or more of the spirit of the party with which they were there connected. The Associate Reformed Synod has a theological academy in New York, with two Professors, 26 students, and a library of about 5000 volumes.

Of the Reformed Presbyterians, or Cameronians, there are probably not more than about a dozen churches in the United States. That in New York is large and numerously attended; but generally speaking, the body consists almost exclusively of Scotsmen or their immediate descendants.

The remaining division of Presbyterians, the Reformed Dutch Church, is confined almost entirely to the States of New York and New Jersey; but here they are so abundant that they have in all somewhere about 200 churches. So far as I can learn the principal points of difference between them and the others, are, their having generally a plurality of pastors in each church, and a liturgy. The liturgy contains forms of public and private prayer; forms for the administration of ordinances,

and church discipline; for the ordination of ministers and church officers; and the celebration of marriage. These formularies are followed by the Nicene and Athanasian creeds. Very little importance however seems to be attached to this liturgy, at least so far as regards public worship; for on no occasion on which I have been present has the slightest use been made of it.

As to the mode in which public worship is conducted, in the various congregations of presbyterians, a good deal appears to depend on the will of the individual minister or congregation; but it in general corresponds nearly with the practice at home. Among those in connexion with the General Assembly, some ministers officiate in gowns and bands, but the greater number wear neither. Most of them use Watts' psalms and hymns. The other three classes of Scotish descent, so far as I have observed, make use of no canonical dress in the pulpit; some use one selection of psalms and hymns, some another; and a few of the more rigid congregations adhere faithfully to the veteran compilation which is so universal in Scotland. The Dutch Church adopted in 1813 a new collection, prepared by one of their own body; till last New-year's day, when some of the ladies of the congregations in New York took a fancy to array their pastors in full ecclesiastical vestments, the ministers had long laid aside both gowns and bands. Presbyterians have, so far as I know, no periodical

fasts; their theological academies I have already specified, the more noted colleges under their influence are those of Princeton and Schenectady.

In point of numbers the Episcopalians are the next religious body in New York, where they have about a dozen of churches and chapels.

This denomination had its rise among the emigrants to Virginia, and is still most numerous in the southern States; although in more recent times it has considerably increased in the middle and eastern districts, and at present New York may be regarded as its polemical head quarters.

The "Protestant Episcopal Church," as it is styled, has within its pale seven diocesses, with as many bishops,[2] and between 250 and 300 churches. It corresponds with the church of England in nearly all matters except those arising from State influence. The English book of common prayer is adopted with some few modifications, and the English church is universally regarded with filial regard and deference. Its government is vested in the House of Bishops, and the House of Clerical and Lay delegates, which form the General Convention, and the consent of both houses is essential to enact or repeal its canons. A copy of these canons is before me; they are 53 in number.

The prevalent theology of this body is at present decidedly and avowedly Arminian, and its

[2] An additional bishop has lately been elected. (1823.)

ecclesiastical spirit is the very highest of high church; the more intolerantly so, perhaps, from its being totally destitute of Government patronage and support, and enjoying no privileges which are not common to the most democratic of the surrounding sects. Among its clergy I have already noticed two distinguished exceptions[3] in regard to doctrine; and although these are all that have fallen within my personal observation, I am informed that there are a few others no less decided. These ministers I have reason to believe dissent no less sincerely from the prevalent exclusive spirit in ecclesiastical politics. Its bishops are, without exception, characterized by unswerving adherence to the dominant opinions.

A year or two ago, a keen controversy was waged between the episcopal clergy and those of other denominations, in which the exclusive *divine right* of the former was most pertinaciously asserted, and no less decidedly denied. Most of the sermons, charges, and pastoral letters, which the advocates of prelacy have published from that time to this, have more or less directly inculcated the same principles, and have been directed to the same object; and one can hardly help being amused at the tenacity with which the authors cling to the potent virtue of *apostolic ordination*, of which they are the legitimate inheritants, and *the excellence of the*

[3] One in Baltimore, the other in New York.

church, which is, and can be, none other than that in which they exercise their talents. Did all this infer nothing more than a predilection for their own party, a spirit which is in a less or greater degree common to all sects, it might be allowed to pass without much remark; but when they talk of all beyond their pale being left to the *uncovenanted mercies of God*, which is it seems their position, it becomes necessary to the development of the system, to exhibit more minutely the nature and tendency of their principles.

Of their creed upon the most important of all subjects, the foundation of a sinner's hope in the presence of his righteous Judge, it is probably impossible to make a statement which will be strictly applicable to the whole body; but in the preface to an address delivered in 1817 before the New York Bible and Prayer Book Society, by one of the clergy of the city, and published *by request*, the author states that "he believes that all who sincerely desire and endeavour to do the will of God, will be received by him; and he cherishes the hope that even fundamental error will be found to have been sometimes united with sincere piety;" and shortly after adds, that he "would shrink with horror from consigning Jews, Arians, and Socinians to indiscriminate perdition. He believes such persons to be in a great and most dangerous error; but God forbid that he should undertake to set limits to the mercy which may be extended to those who are in

error—or to assert that none who depart from the fundamental doctrines of the divinity of Christ, and salvation through the merits of his atonement, do it under circumstances of excuse which may attract the compassion of their Judge."

These are probably the sentiments of the majority of the Episcopalian church. The author indeed does not pledge any one to them except himself; but as the pamphlet in which they are avowed has been extensively circulated, without any, so far as I know, coming forward to controvert or disown them, we cannot but conclude that they are generally approved of.[4]

Holding such principles, it very naturally follows that in their zeal for making converts, it is not so much the extension of the knowledge of the word of God which they have at heart, as the enlargement of "our church," as their writers in all their publications invariably style it.

The present Bishop of New York has published two pamphlets on the subject of Bible and Common

[4] The following form of prayer drawn up and published by the present Bishop of New York, for the use of the Episcopal Sunday Schools, contains a comprehensive abstract of his doctrinal sentiments, and appears to be quite in unison with the quotations which are offered from the other divine:—

"Almighty and everlasting God, who hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all those who are penitent, create and make in us new and contrite hearts; that we, worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen*."

Prayer Book Societies, in which he loudly calls upon all within the pale of the Episcopalian church to have nothing to do with the American Bible Society, or any other which circulates the Bible alone; but by all means to cling "exclusively" to those which connect the Prayer Book with the Bible, or rather, as is the fact, give to the former their decided preference; and the reason which he assigns is, his belief that "great danger is to be apprehended from the contrary course, to the principles of the church." He tells them that "among Episcopalians there is a greater want of the book of Common Prayer than of the Bible," and that "the argument for the gratuitous circulation of the Bible, founded on the fact that numbers are destitute of this sacred volume, who are unwilling or unable to procure a copy of it, applies with even greater force to the Book of Common Prayer."

This counsel, which was given in 1816 and 1817, was not without its effects; for in the following year it was announced, that the Auxiliary New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society had up to that period distributed 1190 Bibles, and 7989 Prayer Books, being in the proportion of nearly seven Prayer Books to every Bible. It was attempted to palliate this glaring disproportion, by stating that the supply of Bibles by other societies had "narrowed the demands upon them for that book;" but a more obvious reason might be discovered in the fact, that the Bishop has previously assured them in

his Pastoral Letter, "that a single Bible *may* answer for a family; but in order to enable all its members to unite in public worship, several Common Prayer Books must be provided." He seems indeed to have been at a loss for language sufficiently expressive of his estimation of the "pure system of doctrine and worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer," and the following sentence seems to claim for it a very near approach to equality with the Scriptures:—"It would be absurd, and indeed impious, to exalt the human compendium above the inspired original; but as churchmen, we deem it unnatural and injudicious to separate what are thus closely allied. We wish to send them forth in their natural and interesting union, by the blessing of Heaven, to enlighten and save the world.[5]"

It is gratifying to know that all Episcopalians are not so inveterately wedded to this exclusive and sectarian system. The minister to whom among others I have already alluded, gives his active and hearty support to those societies which circulate the Bible alone; and I was present at one of their anniversary meetings, held in his church, at which he delivered an impressive and animating address, and offered up on behalf of it and all such institutions

[5] The passages within inverted commas are faithful quotations, from the original pamphlets which are in my possession; I have not affixed any names, because it is the system and not the men, with which we have to do.

a fervent extemporaneous prayer; he was indeed the principal speaker on this occasion.[6] It would be well for the American Episcopal Church that she had many such members.

Episcopalian Missionary Societies and Sunday School Societies, exist in various places, and the affairs of some of them are most zealously administered. Their prevailing character, however, is in consistence with the principles which I have already stated; "Where is the churchman who can be indifferent to the extension of his church?" is still the stimulating appeal. "Thus then, brethren, we have reason to be proud of our Zion;" is still the gratulating peroration. "Our Zion, like the messenger that came to console Zion of old with the news of deliverance, proclaims indeed 'glad tidings' to the children of men. 'Very excellent things may be spoken of thee, thou city of God!'—How *causeless* and *dangerous* then must be *separation* from our Zion!"

The moral character of the Episcopalian clergy

[6] Since my return home this gentleman has accepted the appointment of Secretary to the American Bible Society, and as such addressed a letter of condolence to the British and Foreign Bible Society on the lamented death of the estimable Mr Owen. He, however, and the others who are similarly catholic in their principles, are looked upon by their *Apostolic* brethren as much more dangerous to *the church*, than the most determined presbyterian or independent. While I was speaking of one of them, to a zealous partizan of the more influential party, and eulogizing his conduct, the churchman shook his head, "Ah," said he significantly, "he is a black sheep."

is, so far as I can learn, not liable to the slightest aspersion; on the contrary deviation from rectitude of conduct is immediately followed by degradation. A short time before I reached New York, a rector of one of the churches was superseded for immorality.

The revenues of this communion are not more abundant than those of other denominations. A bishopric is in this respect by no means a seductive object of ambition, for the incumbent is in general still dependant on his salary as a rector or parish priest, and has the duties of that office still upon his hands. Pluralities, curacies, and non-residence, are alike unknown.

The Episcopalians have a theological academy of considerable name at New Haven. The principal college in this part of the country which is under their influence is Columbia College in New York; but it is worthy of remark that among its trustees are also some of the most zealous presbyterians in the city.

The Methodists are, I believe, next in numerical account, they have here six or seven churches, besides two for blacks.

This sect is so universally diffused where the English language is spoken, and their principles are in general so familiar to those who take any interest in the distinguishing tenets of different sects, that it seems unnecessary to be very minute with regard to them. I do not know that there is any

thing in the American Methodists to distinguish them from those of other countries, unless it be that part of them maintain the Episcopalian form of church government; in 1817 they had three bishops. It is said that the number of their congregations in the country is not under 2000. Their great strength lies in the southern and western States, and their proselyting exertions are most indefatigable. One powerful means of extending their numbers, although unknown in our native country, consists in camp meetings, as they are called. What the origin of these singular assemblies was, I know not, but they are now kept up with astonishing zeal throughout all parts of the country.

As I have had no opportunity of witnessing any of those assemblages, I can only speak from common report as to their character and effects. They consist of multitudes of men, women, and children, to the extent of several thousands, who come in vehicles of every description to some selected place of meeting in the woods; here a large space is surrounded by waggons, tents are pitched, cooking utensils erected, and a motley encampment formed. A great number of preachers attend, and addresses and prayers are poured out, with inexhaustible copiousness, in half a dozen or more places at a time; when one speaker is worn out another begins, and thus it is kept up, without intermission, for a week or more. Their discourses and prayers are of course stimulating and alarming in the highest possible degree;

the hearers become violently excited; groan, cry aloud, and throw themselves on the ground in paroxysms of mental agony; the contagion spreads, even among those who have come from motives of mere curiosity, and with perfect contempt for the whole system; the number of converts multiplies; they are collected into a body and go round the camp singing hymns, and calling on the multitude to repent. Were the effects of camp meetings to spread no farther than this, it would be sufficient to characterize them as essentially detrimental to true religion; but when the evils are recollected which necessarily result to society, in the derangement of social and domestic order, by the desertion of industrious callings and the breaking up of hundreds of families; and when to this are superadded the positive immoralities which it is said usually attend these immense assemblages, necessarily promiscuous in the utmost latitude of the term, it is impossible to regard them but with decided disapprobation. It is indeed a matter of universal assertion and belief, among all but their abettors, that profligate people flock to them for the worst of all purposes, and that their influence is to a greater or less degree at all times prevalent. These camp meetings travel periodically over the greater part of the country; and they are so arranged that the same individuals may have it in their power to attend a great number in succession.

I have only happened to hear two specimens of

Methodist preaching, and these both in the same evening and in the same place. Disappointed in getting admission to another church, I agreed to the suggestion of a friend that we should follow a crowd who were flocking into a Methodist church, or rather a kind of subterraneous place of meeting under the chapel. The first preacher addressed the audience from the words, "Cleanse your hands ye sinners, purify your hearts ye double-minded." So far as bodily exertion went, this was the most powerful discourse I ever heard. The preacher wrought himself up to the most extravagant degree of vehemence, and vociferated for about an hour till he absolutely gasped for breath. Sitting down, apparently from total inability to go on, a second took it up, and setting out with the observation, that "many a good sermon was lost for want of self-application by the hearers," he proceeded to enforce what his associate had advanced, and toiled himself into almost an equal degree of noisiness and exhaustion. The whole amount of both addresses was, "The way of escape from hell and damnation is, draw nigh to God, draw nigh to God—abstain from drinking, swearing, theatres, balls, extravagance of living and furniture, cry aloud for mercy, walk in the paths of true piety, and live a life of godliness and devotion." Neither the one nor the other ever stated, directly or indirectly, that Jesus died for sinners, and rose again for their justification. I do not offer this as by any means ascer-

taining the general character of Methodist preaching or doctrine in this country; I have reason to hope that many even of their own body would have disapproved of the specimen as decidedly as I did, at the same time I suspect that a still greater number would be found who would as decidedly applaud it.

The Baptists, in number of churches, rank next in order. They have seven places of worship in the city; I am not aware whether they have any for blacks. These are all agreed, as to worship and church government, with the particular Baptists of England, but there is also a small congregation conducted upon the principles of the Scotish Baptists. I attended at different times in three of these places of worship; they are all large and numerously attended, and the discourses which I heard were, with one exception, characterized by piety and good sense.

The Baptists are the most numerous denomination in the United States; it is said that their churches amount altogether to nearly 3000. They obtained a footing first in Rhode Island, where they have a very respectable academical institution called Brown College,[2] at which about 70 or 80 students in general study; they have also a theological academy at Philadelphia. Their great strength however is in the southern and western States, where

[2] A new college in connexion with this body has been established since my return in Washington, with promise of great success.

they continue to increase rapidly. They have a Missionary Society at Philadelphia which supports, as you know from the reports, missions to Bombay and the Birman Empire.

Besides the churches which I have enumerated, there are three Quakers' meeting houses, one German Reformed church, one Evangelical Lutheran, two Romish, one Universalist, and one Jewish synagogue.

The ministers of the various denominations are supported chiefly by the proceeds of pew rents and voluntary contributions. The salaries of those of the larger congregations vary from about 2000 to 4000 dollars; £450 to £900 sterling. I am not however sure that any of them actually reach the latter sum. Pews are in general private property; but, in addition to the large amount of their first cost, they are burdened with a very heavy annual assessment. In some churches the more desirable pews, capable of accommodating six or eight sitters, will occasionally sell for as much as a thousand dollars, about £220; and the annual assessment is considerably higher than the usual amount of seat rents in Glasgow. The original purchase money goes to the erection and support of the building, the subsequent payments to the support of the minister.

A part of the ministers' emoluments arises from marriages; on which happy occasions the clergyman is always compensated for his assistance with

bank notes. The sum usually presented varies from five to twenty dollars, but those who can afford to be munificent sometimes go the length of one hundred; £22, 10s. Another item might perhaps be added, the linen scarfs which are presented at funerals; each of them will make a shirt, and some ministers get a great many every year. This however is in every respect a very censurable custom, and ought by all means to be discouraged.

In country places the minister's salary is greatly lower; sometimes it is raised by penny a-week associations, frequently it is paid in kind, and very often is of no stipulated amount, but depends entirely upon the state of the times, and the incumbent's popularity.

During the time of public worship, it is quite common in the more narrow streets of New York to find a chain extended completely across, from one post to another, to prevent the passage of carriages. This we should think with us a very glaring infringement on the liberty of the subject.

The collections are usually made not at the door of the church, but in plates which are handed into every pew, immediately on the conclusion of the sermon. This is a very efficient way of levying contributions from those who are not accustomed to the fashion, but frequent use renders people quite callous to the craving platter. In Philadelphia they use a little black velvet bag, projected at the end of a long pole, this is unceremoniously

thrust out to every one in the pew; but it is so far convenient, that those who choose to be parsimonious escape detection, for it is impossible to discover the amount of their deposite.

The Sabbath is, upon the whole, decorously observed at New York. In large cities, and particularly sea ports, there is always in a considerable proportion of the population, a great degree of indifference to the solemnities, and even to the quietness, of the day of rest; but I do not think that in this respect New York would suffer much in a comparison with those of our native country. I must say, however, that what difference exists, is against America. Tea gardens are open here on the Sabbath evening; and I have seen in Broadway, opposite the entrance to one of them, a large lantern suspended over the foot-walk, inviting visitors; there are however no pastry cooks' shops open, as in London and other parts of England. With regard to the consistent observance of the Sabbath among professedly religious people, I scarcely know what general statement to make. I have known some individuals, whom in the judgment of charity I could not but regard as christians, who would yet spend the Sabbath in travelling, when there was not so far as I could judge any necessary occasion for it; but I have also met with others, who most scrupulously abstained from what most would have considered works of necessity or mercy, and most conscientiously spent the whole

day in the duties of public and private devotion. The majority of the religious world however, I have reason to think, might be said, as among ourselves, to steer a middle course; and while they acted under a conviction of the duty of setting apart the first day of the week, to the worship of God and meditation on eternal things, were at the same time not unmindful that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.

Evening sermons are numerous here; were I required to give my opinion on the subject, I should be inclined to say that there is perhaps an undue importance attached to them, and that many attend church who would be more usefully employed in the duties of family instruction. Perhaps, however, the circumstances in which I have happened to be placed, occasioned me to see more of the one than the other. A *wayfaring man* has not the best opportunity of correct information on subjects of a domestic nature.

The efforts which are made by the inhabitants of this city to communicate religious instruction to their destitute fellow creatures, both among themselves and in distant regions, merit honourable mention. Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Sunday School societies, are I think quite as numerous as among ourselves. Some of them indeed are comparatively of modern institution; but we have all been too remiss in such matters to be entitled to censure the conduct of others.

The American Bible Society[3] was formed in 1816, and was intended to be a national institution, to which the local societies should be subsidiary; there are besides in the city, the New York, the Auxiliary New York, the New York Female, the New York Union, the Marine, and the New York African Bible Societies, most of which, if not all, are in connexion with the national institution. The oldest of these was established in 1809, and the second in 1813. There are also some Juvenile, and subordinate Associations, as well as two Bible and Common Prayer Book Societies. The printing of Bibles here is free, and not as with us a matter of privilege and monopoly. The American Bible Society is thus enabled to print for itself, and it has at present eight or nine presses employed; the work which they produce is upon the whole very respectably executed.

The formation of this national institution met with very strenuous opposition; partly I believe from those local jealousies which even in such matters are allowed too frequently to operate, but more particularly from that sect to which I have already alluded, as trembling at the idea of the word of God being allowed to go abroad among their fellow

[3] It would have been a very easy thing to have given here a much more detailed account of societies for religious purposes, than has been introduced; but to those who feel a particular interest in such matters, this would be superfluous, as the proceedings of American benevolent institutions are now regularly communicated in the British Magazines and Reports.

creatures, without the qualifying influence of the word of man. Those in this communion are careful to prefix the appellation 'Protestant' to the designation of their party; but I have sometimes been tempted to suspect that it has arisen from a secret conviction that some of the most distinguishing characteristics of Protestantism are not to be discovered in their system; just as another sect in the, so called, religious world, add 'Christians' to their distinctive title, lest, as they disavow the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, people should suspect that they are not entitled to the name.

Of Missionary societies there are in this city at least ten. Of these there are three or four which devote their funds to foreign missions; others to the support of preachers and teachers in the destitute regions of the United States, and among the poor wandering aborigines; one gives its exertions exclusively to the Jews, and one is subservient to the interests of the Episcopal church. I heard one evening a discourse, delivered in behalf of one of these home societies, at which four young Cherokees were present, some of them sons of chiefs; who had come to New York to be educated for acting as missionaries and teachers among their own nation. I afterwards met at Washington with the father of one of these youths, who appeared to be a man of decided piety, and of a well informed mind.

There are three Tract societies in New York,

but I believe that they restrict their operations in a great measure to the republication of British tracts. One of them is conducted by Episcopalians, and another by Methodists.

The Sunday School societies are comparatively of modern date; the first was formed in 1815, or 1816. They are now however numerous, for almost every congregation of whatever name has a school connected with it, which is managed by its members. There are several others devoted to the instruction of adults, particularly people of colour; to a very interesting one of this kind I have already alluded.

In general English reading is the principal object of attention in the Sunday schools, for there is among the lower classes a melancholy deficiency in this respect; the poor blacks are particularly ignorant. The Bible, however, is universally the school book, to all those who have mastered the spelling lessons; and religious instruction is always to a greater or less degree connected with the exercises. Boys and girls are scarcely ever found in the same school; young men and young ladies respectively teach those of their own sex; the ladies indeed were the first who commenced schools in New York. In each school there are a considerable number of teachers, who give the more elementary instruction, while upon the superintendent devolves the duty of a religious address, and prayer. The schools meet universally in the morn-

ing, for about an hour before the forenoon service; the teachers then walk with their pupils to church and sit beside them during worship; at dismission, school exercises are resumed, and in the afternoon, they again take their place in the church. This completes the exercises of the day, for none of the schools are open in the evening; so different is the system in America and in Scotland—with us the evening is the principal period of instruction, and only a few schools have a summer morning meeting. The New York Sunday School Union was established in 1816, and has now a great number of schools in connexion with it.

The anniversary meetings of Religious Societies are conducted in a different manner from those at home. Ours have more the character of popular assemblies, theirs of devotional meetings. Those at which I have been present here have always been held in a church. The business was introduced by singing and prayer; the report was read, and the speakers, principally clergymen, then addressed the audience. The peculiar form of the more modern American pulpits, makes the churches much better adapted for meetings of this kind than ours are. A collection was then made, and another hymn and prayer, with the usual benediction, terminated the proceedings. The introduction of religious services has the effect of considerably lessening the number of those who attend;—would it not be better that these meetings should

be made as inviting as can be done, without the compromise of principle, to persons of every description of character?

Abstract remarks upon the character of American religion appear to be unnecessary, after the information as to facts, which has been communicated throughout these letters. No one of reflection and candour can fail to be convinced that truth and righteousness do to a very important extent prevail, and that their principles are in a state of increasing progress and development.

I must now soon take leave of America. No one who rightly studies the people of this country can be otherwise than persuaded that they are a growing nation; destined ultimately to attain, and probably long to enjoy, a commanding and salutary influence upon the other families of the earth. It is natural that we should expect this; and it cannot but be disgraceful to Americans should such anticipations be disappointed. They have had advantages which no other nation ever had—results must accrue from these such as no nation has yet exhibited. Instead of laboriously climbing the steep ascent, by which others have risen from darkness and barbarity to light and civilization—groping for the right path and often mistaking it in the labyrinths among which it was concealed — they have been happily transferred

from the lofty peak to which we had attained, to another equally high, there to commence their efforts for further advancement;—with all the memorials of our slowly acquired wisdom recorded for their use, all our errors detailed for their warning, all our present imperfections and half matured plans conspicuously exhibited before them. Hitherto their advancement has been comparatively but necessarily slow;—they had an untamed land to subdue, they had the necessaries of life to struggle for, they had a civil system to establish, they had errors in European principles to reform, what was still worse, they had strong counteracting efforts on our part to resist. In the face of all this, the wonder is, not that they have done so little, but that they have accomplished so much; and the vigour of the infantine grasp, which in the cradle has triumphed over such opposition, gives promise of a matured and exalted energy, which will hereafter aid in washing away the moral pollutions of the world, and crushing the many-headed monster which has so long preyed upon the temporal and eternal interests of man.

But while from America so much may be expected, we may reasonably hope that she will not be solitary in such achievements. My heart still clings to my native land with unabated fondness; and as she has already been honoured to do great things, in emancipating from mental thraldom the fair globe on which we dwell, it is not surely

unreasonable to hope that all this is but a pledge of greater exertions, and more brilliant success;—that there is a day coming when she will stand still more conspicuously forth as the benefactor of our species, and when 'the blessing of many ready to perish shall come upon her.'

Let not the people of either country disdain the fellowship and good offices of the other;—sprung from the same stock, speaking the same language, common participators of civil liberty and equal laws—let us regard each other as brethren, cordially unite for counsel, co-operation and sympathy; and give to the world a brighter and more beneficial demonstration than it has hitherto seen, that knowledge is power, union is strength, and pure religion inseparably connected with national prosperity and individual happiness.

THE END.

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